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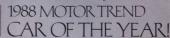
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LET'S GET IT TOGETHER & BUCKLE UP

#### **COVER: Dukakis' bandwagon rolls to** sweet victory in New York. New York

in contrasts. ▶ Al Gore, we hardly knew ye. See NATION.

The Democrats' disciplined, self-contained candidate surges halfway to the nomination and dims chances of a Jackson upset. But can the Duke pull together the party's disparate elements? ▶ As President, Dukakis would be decisive and fast-moving on the domestic front. ▶ The candidate and his wife Kitty are a study

20

### WORLD: Palestinians stage a tumultuous 36 funeral in Syria for a slain P.L.O. leader

As new details emerge about the assassination of Khalil al-Wazir by an Israeli hit squad, debate persists over whether his death will deepen unrest in the occupied territories. ▶ An interview with Jordan's King Hussein. ▶ Mounting its most serious military strike in the gulf so far, the U.S. clobbers Iran at sea. ▶ In Moscow, signs of a Politburo power struggle between Gorbachev and his No. 2.



### VIDEO: Producer Steven Bochco keeps turning out hits by rocking the boat

His groundbreaking police series Hill Street Blues virtually reinvented TV drama. He followed up that success with the tony courtroom drama L.A. Law and the provocative "dramedy" Hooperman, Bochco is already the most influential and iconoclastic TV producer of the '80s. Now, with a lucrative deal to create ten shows for ABC, he is poised to put his stamp on the '90s.



#### 32 Nation

Reagan gets an earful on the Meese malaise at Justice. ▶ A squabble over plant shutdowns imperils the trade bill. Ferries are back.

#### 66 Education

On the fast-changing college-acceptance scene, élite students are ardently courted while merely respectable ones are hung out to dry.

**Economy & Business Technology** The superpower thaw is

warming up interest in U.S.-Soviet ventures. ▶ The writers' strike brings on the reruns. ▶ GE jets to the top.

# 70

America moves a step closer to making amends for the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II

A series of raids on U.S. military computers is traced to a hacker in Hannover, West Germany. > First peek at the Stealth bomber.

# 73

Once they played the game smartly, happily and hard. Now the Baltimore Orioles are losing baseball games at a record clip.

# Medicine

A handful of AIDS sufferers are amazing and puzzling doctors by their ability to survive. ▶ New odds on heterosexual transmission.

# 96

Books are life-forms. children of the mind. A fire that destroyed hundreds of thousands of books in Russia is deeply haunting.

#### 5 Letters 13 Critics' Choice 14 American Scene

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**69 Milestones** 79 Cinema

80 Theater 81 Art

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Cover: Photograph by Steve Liss

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# A Letter from the Publisher

W hen he took the lead in the 1928 Republican presidential race by winning the New Hampshire primary, Herbert Hoover suddenly found his picture on the cover of TIME. Historians may debate the impact of that distinction, but Hoover went on to occupy the White House. Since then, dozens of presidential hopefuls have appeared on the magazine's cover, with similarly unknowable results. "When TIME puts a candidate on the cover, we unavoidably become part of the political process," says Nation Editor Walter Isaacson, who edited this week's





Future Presidents: Hoover in 1928; Reagan in 1966

articles on Michael Dukakis and his New York Democratic-primary victory. "But our cover decisions are certainly not meant as an endorsement or pronouncement. They are simply journalistic judgments about what is newsworthy that week.

We sometimes wish that reasoning were better understood. When Jimmy Carter appeared on TIME's cover three times during the 1976 primary season, some readers complained that we were trying to propel the ex-Georgia Governor into the White House. In fact, the covers reflected our judgment that Carter's assault on the presidency was the biggest story of the emerging campaign. Ronald Reagan first turned up on the cover in a similar fashion in 1966 as a candidate for Governor of California who seemed likely to go further.

The record for most candidate covers in an election year was set in the tumultuous 1968 race: Democrats Hubert Humphrey, Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy each had a turn on the cover, as did Republicans Nelson Rockefeller and Richard Nixon, the eventual winner. The proliferation and unpredictability of primary elections have made us more cautious over the years. When Robert Dole took the Iowa caucuses last February, we wanted to see more evidence of his

Rosat L Milla

strength before making him a cover choice. Sure enough, Dole lost in New Hampshire to George Bush. The Vice President's 1988 campaign efforts did not make the cover until after his Super Tuesday sweep of 16 primaries on March 8.

Whether cover exposure will affect a candidacy this election year is not our concern. Just as in Hoover's day, the important thing is to have the right story, and a good one. This week's tale of how Dukakis has virtually sewn up the Democratic nomination makes us comfortable on both counts.

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#### Letters

# **Jackson Fever**

To the Editors:

I thought Jesse Jackson [NATION.

April 11 was a man totally out of his depth until about three months ago, when he truly caught my attention and I began to listen to what he was saying. Could he be one of those unlikely people who in troubled times come to lead us back to the basic values from which we have departed?

Patricia Barbara Smith Troy, Mich.



We all want programs for education and jobs and the elimination of drugs and violence. The real issue of a political violence. The real issue of a political control of the programs of the political political violence of the po

Mark Silverstein Chicago

America is begging for leadership with vision. Jackson possesses that quality. Go for it, Jesse!

Darby Stewart Cheney, Wash.

Ironically, Jackson is like Ronald Reagan in one way: he is a good communicator with a lot of style but not much substance. Let's stop discussing whether the Democrats should nominate a black man for President and focus on whether they should choose this man, Jesse Jackson.

James Watson Tallahassee

The exact mechanism for the realization of Jackson's goals for America is not so important as the goals themselves. A President sets the objectives and tone of his Administration and should surround himself with competent advisers to present options. I want an honest, compas-



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NewsQuest disks



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#### Letters

sionate President with a solid grasp of his role and the big picture, not someone who can't see the forest for the trees. For the U.S. and the world, win, Jesse, win.

Paul Coke Menlo Park, Calif.

Jackson is just another politician making big promises to the voters. If elected, he would join the thousands of public officials who forget what they have promised once they are in office. I wish I had the rose-colored-glasses concession for this campaign.

Carmen Galván Anaheim, Calif.

The tremendous support Jackson has received from both black and white voters indicates that not only blacks have come a

long, long way. Whites have too.

Duygu Yelbasi
Boca Raton, Fla.

# Presidential Pardons

Your article "On Granting an Iranscam Pardon" [EFIIICS, April 11] Il misses the point. The indictments against Oliver North, John Poindexter and the others are the result of a political witch-hunt staged by a party desperate to win the presidency by any means. They are not the consequence of any normal due process of law. To cut off this vicious partisan circus, a pardon is joigcal, ethical and humane.

Judith Evans Hanhisalo Duxbury, Mass.

The caption under President Gerald Ford's picture reads, "President Ford announcing pardon of Richard Nixon, Aug. 8, 1974." Nixon's resignation was effective Aug. 9, 1974. President Ford pardoned him on Sept. 8, 1974.

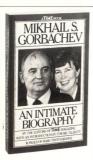
Julius F. Parker Jr. Tallahassee

#### A Thousand Years

We applied your article about the millionnium of Christianity in the Soviet Union being celebrated by the Russian Orthodox Church RELIGION. April 41 If improved relations between church and state continue, this could be a pivotal noment for the direction of Russian and Ukrainann history under the Soviets. The Orthodox Church has been the basic cultural and spiritual influence in pre- and the country of the Church of th

(The Rev.) Alexander Fecanin St. Symeon Orthodox Church Birmingham

Despite the refurbishing of cathedrals and the release of selected prisoners, millions of Soviet Christians continue to worship covertly. Hundreds more remain imprisoned or institutionalized for their Christian convictions. The U.S. Congress



# The Man of the Year is now the Book of the Year

Expanding upon its Man of the Year cover story, TIME now presents the most comprehensive portrait of Mikhail Gorbachev ever published. This compelling insider's account of the life and times of the Soviet leader includes:

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- former schoolmates

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#### Letters

is now reviewing Concurrent Resolution 223, which calls for the Soviet Union to mark the millennium by proclaiming a general amnesty for imprisoned Christians and allowing them to practice their faith in their churches and homes.

Robert K. Hawley, U.S.A. Director Open Doors with Brother Andrew Santa Ana, Calif.

#### Dalai Lama, Living Buddha

Despite the years of religious persecution, starvation and genocide that the Tibetans have suffered under the rule of the Chinese, they have persevered. This can be attributed to the wise and compassiontate guidance of the Dalai Lam PROFILE, April 111 and the Ti-betans' practice of Buddha's teachings. Other nations would be wise to support his Holiness's call for a "zone of peace" in Tibet.

Cherry Greene Singapore

The Dalai Lama's extraordinary open-mindedness not only enables him to see the world more clearly but also sets him apart from other religious leaders.

Barron K. Henley

#### What's Classic?

The classics of Western civilization won't gather dust as a result of Stanford University's decision to revise the reading list for its Western-culture courses [EDU-CATION, April 11]. But proponents of the new theme-based program called Culture, Ideas and Values will see that replacements chosen on the basis of the authors' mention of the country of

Lois Taylor Old Greenwich, Conn.

A university should be a place to learn not only the Western classics but also their relationship to today's world. The contributions made by non-Western (African, Latin American) and female scholars are a vital part of this pluralism. The example set by Stanford will encourage students at other institutions to persist in their efforts for curriculum change.

Michelle M. Saint Pierre Brookline, Mass.

In trying to eliminate Charles Darwin from the school curriculum, the creationists never thought of the most obvious argument: Darwin is a white male; therefore he shouldn't be required reading.

William Tucker

William Tucker New York City

#### The Wright Stuff

In your article on Pizza Mogul Tom Monaghan's Frank Lloyd Wright collection [DESIGN, April 4], you refer to Mona-

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#### Letters

ghan as a "self-made, no-nonsense busi nessman-who, in the normal course of things, might well be ignorant of even America's greatest architect." As an industrial Realtor, I am constantly dealing with self-made businessmen. I assure you, these people did not get where they are by having their heads in the sand. After reading your story, I took a minipoll of the next three businessmen I spoke with, asking "What can you tell me about Frank Lloyd Wright?" They not only knew of Wright but knowledgeably discussed the merits of his works, from Fallingwater to the Johnson Wax Building. In fact, many of Wright's best designs were commissioned by businessmen

Ren M Hilliker President Hilliker Corp. St. Louis

Less than a quarter of a mile from my home is a Frank Lloyd Wright house. Like other Wright houses and buildings, it captures the essence of the surrounding environment. I am happy to know that Monaghan has founded a museum to honor him. I want to be an architect someday and help fulfill Wright's vision of excellence for America

Marc A. Travalini (age 13) Wilmington, Del.

"Moral indignation," said H.G. Wells, "is jealousy with a halo." This appropriately describes Kurt Andersen's tawdry tirade about Monaghan's Frank Lloyd Wright museum. Yes, perhaps Monaghan's collecting is obsessive, but maybe this is part of the Wright legacy. Like Monaghan. Wright was impassioned, constantly under attack, and a genius Bless them both.

John Shannon Racine. Wis.

#### Out of a Home

In reading your story about the hous-ing shortage [NATION, April 11], I was incensed to see that much of the proposed federal spending is for more low-income housing. This will create additional ghettos. What we need is legislation that strictly limits condo and co-op conversion of existing apartment houses. Here in New York City many people buy a condo or co-op only to sell it six months later at an inflated price. Rents soar correspondingly, and people are forced to leave neighborhoods where they have lived all their lives. Federal and state governments could use funds that have been earmarked for housing projects to rehabilitate buildings and subsidize rents

Susan E. Christiansen-Matobo New York City

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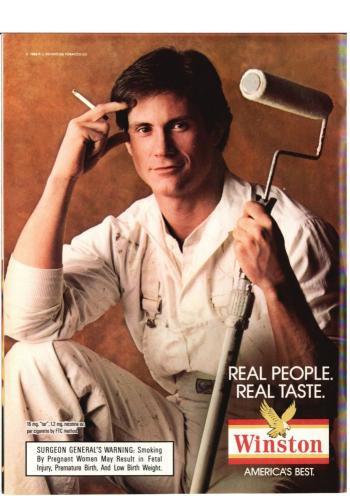
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#### **Critics' Choice**

#### ROOKS

#### THE DAY OF CREATION by

J.G. Ballard (Farrar. Straus & Giroux: \$17.95). The quest for a hidden river in the Sahara unleashes a mythic adventure. Splendid surrealism from the author of Empire of the Sun.

#### FREUD: A LIFE FOR OUR TIME

by Peter Gay (Norton: \$25). The founder of psychoanalysis is revealed as an ambitious outsider driven by a heroic (and perhaps neurotic?) greed for knowledge and a desire to conquer and control.

#### LOVE IN THE TIME OF

CHOLERA by Gabriel García Márquez (Knopf: \$18.95). A spurned suitor endures 50 years of solitude to win his woman, in the Nobel laureate's sprawling, exuberant fable.

#### CINEMA

WHITE MISCHIEF. The African sun sets British blue blood sizzling in a steamy adaptation of James Fox's chronicle of decadence and murder in the Kenyan colony.

BEETLEJUICE. Spook spouses defend their home against the creeps who just moved in. Director Tim Burton's ectoplasmic comedy sails on a raft of witty special effects and old Harry Belafonte songs.

BILOXI BLUES. Neil Simon's wartime clichés are smartly polished by Director Mike Nichols and sharply worn by Matthew Broderick (as a wiseguy G.I.) and Christopher Walken (his tough sarge).

### THE DEL -LORDS: BASED ON

A TRUE STORY (Enigma).
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wide-open spaces.

#### RUBEN BLADES: NOTHING

BUT THE TRUTH (Elektra). The Panamanian sensation's first all-English album is a stone dazzler. A bold, totally successful mix of Latin pop. jazz. rock. doo-wop and unflung street passion.

# THE ROSSINI TENOR (Arabesque). Up bel canto hill and

down rodomontade dale, con brio, with the rising young opera star Rockwell Blake.

#### THEATER

M. BUTTERFLY. Playwright David Henry Hwang reimagines the bizarre espionage case of a French diplomat and his Chinese transvestite lover as a bravura Broadway rap on East vs. West and male vs. female.

#### THE GOSPEL AT COLONUS. An unlikely mix of glorious gospel music and Sophoclean scenes yields a cheering new Broadway musical.

lean b

THE TALE OF LEAR. Japanese Avant-Garde Director Tadashi Suzuki and four U.S. regional theaters jointly create an incantatory short version of Shakespeare's tragedy, now at StageWest in Springfield, Mass.

### TELEVISION

#### THIS HONORABLE COURT

(PBs. May 2 and 9, 9 p.m. on most stations). A behind-thescenes glimpse of the Supreme Court at work, in two parts.

#### THE CAINE MUTINY COURT-MARTIAL (CBS. May 8. 9 p.m.

MARTIAL (CBS, May 8, 9 p.m. EDT). The officers of the Caine vs. a mentally unstable Captain Queeg (Brad Davis). in Robert Altman's new production of Herman Wouk's drama.

#### THE BOURNE IDENTITY (ABC.

May 8 and 9, 9 p.m. EDT). Mr. Mini-Series. Richard Chamberlain. stars in a two-parter based on Robert Ludlum's novel about an amnesiac desperately seeking his past.



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W hen Misha Rachlevsky was ten years old, he and his violin were escorted by dark-suited security agents into an ornate Moscow hall where he was told to play a solo in a concert.

It was his first real performance. To this day, Rachlevsky has no idea of who was in the audience. "Unfortunately, I don't know whom it was for," says Rachlevsky, now 41. "My father was in the back where the security guards were. He could see me, but he was prevented from seeing who the people were down there.' That concert was several continents

back. Since then, Rachlevsky has lived in Israel, Canada and the U.S., but in some ways the violinist, now bearded and barrel-chested, is still squinting into the audience to discern the identity of his benefactors. Lately, it seems, they are as elusive as his long-ago Moscow audience On Saturday, April 9, Rachlevsky led

the New American Chamber Orchestra as it played its final concert. Rachlevsky had established his beloved chamber group as a part-time orchestra in 1978 after stints with the Moscow and Israel chamber orchestras. For Misha Rachlevsky the violinist (even while he was a violinist for the Detroit Symphony), creating his own chamber orchestra was a chance to become Misha Rachlevsky the impresario.

It is a role to which he adapted almost instantly. "As you can see," he says as he pores over one of his orchestra's advertisements. "I have become quite the

The orchestra became Rachlevsky's consuming passion. He gave up his job at the Detroit Symphony in 1984 to create a full-time chamber-music society. And he spent 20-hour days dunning corporate chiefs for money, cooking borsch for winter concertgoers, and arranging for a towing service to be on call for orchestra patrons whose cars failed to start on concert evenings

"Rachlevsky has put his heart and

soul and lifeblood in this to make it go." says Madeleine Phillips of Grosse Pointe Farms, who has attended the concerts for seven years. "He's the artistic director, the manager of the outfit, the principal violinist. He did it all-legwork to advertising. He almost cloned himself.

Misha would work right alongside us." recalls Carole Fuller, a procurement clerk-typist for the Army who late in life discovered a passion for chamber music and became a volunteer for the orchestra. "We'd work until 2 or 3 or 4 in the morning sending out tickets. Sometimes Misha got so tired he'd fall asleep with his head

But it was not enough. In a city where the symphony is struggling to keep its head above water, the odds against a smaller group were evidently just too long. Although the ensemble plays more than 100 concerts a year and tours Europe annually, it needs help to meet the annual tab of about \$500,000 for keeping its eleven musicians playing.

We have never had an angel," Rachlevsky says, sitting in an office above Orchestra Hall and looking for all the world like a miniaturized Pavarotti. "The responsibility was always on my shoulders."

"In Detroit," he adds, "all the corporate money is basically controlled by a small group of people. I do have a certain bitterness that we were not supported in Detroit with enough money to allow us to become part of the community.

Yet to many, a dearth of support for chamber music in Detroit is not a cause for wonder. Orchestra Hall is located in the city's deteriorating inner city, in a neighborhood more accustomed to crack than Mozart. Detroit is a city that circulates ethyl in its veins, and Rachlevsky's kind of music, they say, is not the top

Others reject that kind of thinking "It's absolutely incredible," says Lloyd Fell of Cheboygan, Mich., "that a city the

size of Detroit, with all the money here and corporations, can't support a group of this caliber.

"It would cost less to keep this group here," adds a miffed Fell, "than one of these sports teams pays for any forward or offensive tackle."

Fell can be forgiven a bit for his anger. Former Detroit residents, he and his wife moved to Cheboygan three years ago. But that didn't stop them from attending the chamber-music concerts. For three years, the couple have driven some 500 miles round trip just to take in the New American Chamber Orchestra.

Their dedication isn't unusual. At Sat-urday evening's concert, Suzanne and Marc Winkelman of West Bloomfield, a Detroit suburb, turned out as mourners. The couple had been hosts to six New Year's Eve parties in their bookstore to raise money for the orchestra. Marc Winkelman was awed by Rachlevsky's energy. "If there had been capitalists in Rus-sia." he wonders, "who knows where he'd have been

Robert L. Plummer also found himself charmed by the Russian émigré. He and his wife began attending the concerts from "before day one," as he says, and soon found themselves putting up visiting musicians in their suburban home for three months at a stretch and stuffing mailings into envelopes. "Misha is quite an individual," says Plummer. "Besides being a musician, he's an entrepreneur. There's going to be a void here when he's gone.

But those encomiums were scarce consolation to Misha Rachlevsky in his first violinist's chair that recent Saturday evening when the early breezes of spring were on the reluctant Michigan air. He had decided, he said, to put the orchestra up for sale. He has launched a nationwide hunt for a city that will support the New American Chamber Orchestra. He has no



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#### American Scene

particular place in mind, only the conditions that its citizens be willing to turn out to listen and that its civic coffers provide a bit of support.

Rachlevsky will be sad to leave Detorit, he says, even though the city's image to receive the country's best. "When I called this fall and winter to people in the industry about my prospective move out of here." he says, "I was shocked. After I'd say what wed done here—1,300 subscribers. 1,000 contributors to shocked that no one would say. You're cray,—you have put so much there. Why shocked that no one would say. You're cray,—you have put so much there. Why as I said that we wanted to move out of Detroit, everyone said. Sure. who would not want to move out of Detroit,"

A man who has brought accountants to Orchestra Hall to finish the taxes of audience members during an evening con-



Rachlevsky hustled, but lacked an angel

cert on April 15, Rachlevsky is not to be underestimated. "I know that they are too good just to let them die," he says of the orchestra members. "We are much too devoted to what we're doing to dissolve it, to forget about it."

On Saturday, the night of the final

concert, the impresario was at his best. During the intermission, he told the young chamber musicians as they stood together backstage in the footlights one last time. "Tonight we don't want to kill it, but we'll take no prisoners." He raised his hand in a clenched fist.

The musicians went back to their seats. For the last number, Haydn's Symphony No. 45, the so-called "Farewell" Symphony, the musicians stood one by one as the piece concluded and blew out candles burning beside their music stands.

At the last, only Misha Rachlevsky and his second violinist sat playing. Then they too blew out their candles, and the hall went dark. For a moment, there was silence. Then the applause began, building and rising until the audience was on its feet, applauding the musicians, who were gone, and the music, which was

over

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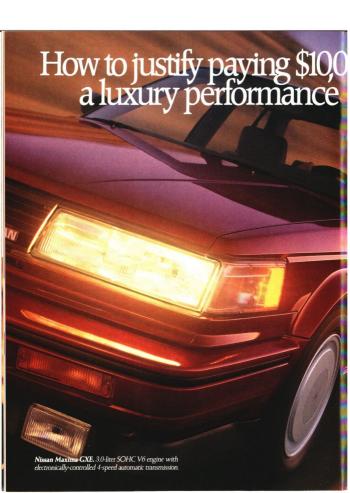
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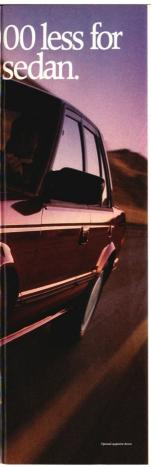
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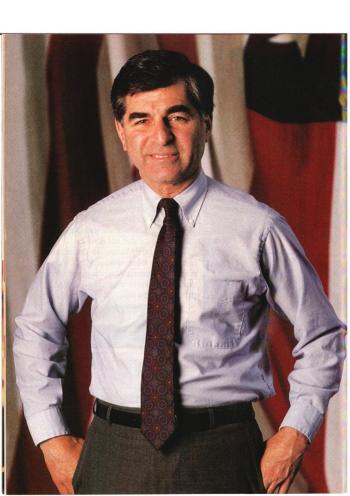


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# Nation

TIME/MAY 2, 1988

COVER STORIES

# Marathon Man

# But can the Duke unite the party?



day night mattered not at all. Chants of "Duke!" Duke!" alternated with cries of "Let's go. Mike!" And when Minical Dukakis paused before speaking, his usually constricted smile was as broad and welcoming as New York harbor. Campaign workers cheered ecstatically at the Duke's every grosale line." I love New can make it here, we can make it anywhere." Delirious applause.

For once, primary-night hoopla matched reality. After a week of bogus suspense in which it appeared that Jesse Jackson's insurgent tide might carry the state, Dukakis took New York in grand fashion, 51% to Jackson's 37% and only 10% for Al Gore. The victory ended any hope Jackson had of fighting Dukakis to a draw-an outcome that would have produced chaos at the Democratic Convention in Atlanta. Though Jackson, after a period of uncertain silence, insisted he could still win the nomination, Campaign Manager Gerald Austin conceded that his patron's prospects had turned "pretty bleak." Even before the votes were counted. Jackson was retreating to claims of symbolic victory; then a few of his advisers talked publicly about seeking the vicepresidential nomination.

Gore's latest failure proved terminal: he suspended campaigning Thursday, though he will attempt to hold his delegates together by remaining a nominal candidate. Gore was a star of Super Tuesday just six weeks earlier, but his erratic performance since then seemed to eliminate him even from the roster of vicepresidential prospects.

Dukakis' breakthrough is the sum of math and momentum. New York was the last chance before the June 7 California primary to spike the wheels of his bandwagon. The Duke now has roughly 1,070 delegates of the 2,081 needed to nominate. Despite the quirky tendency of Democratic voters to turn against front runners. Dukakis appears assured of capturing at least two-thirds of the 1,000 delegates still to be elected. A majority of the 643 superdelegates-public and party officials who are nominally unpledged-are also known to favor Dukakis. These recruits. together with scores of delegates now uncommitted or hooked to defunct candidates, will provide the critical mass necessary to settle the issue

Dukakis, the plodding survivor, the paradigm of caution who has launched not a single imaginative political theme, has outlasted seven rivals. Barring acts of God, this candidate described by one of his own aides as an "earnest nerd" will be the nominee. Sighs of relief were audible among much of the Democratic establishment. Because Dukakis evokes wild enthusiasm? Hardly. A TIME poll last week conducted by Yankelovich Clancy Shulman showed that only 34% of registered voters consider Dukakis an "exciting" candidate (vs. 66% for Jackson). Rather, the party has grown weary of a nominating contest that combined the worst elements of burlesque and trench warfare. Now at last the stable, competent craftsman can begin to build a campaign against George Bush.

But if the Democratic muddle has been sorted out, if "brokered convention" and "Mario scenario" have become yesterday's buzz words, new questions arise: Can Dukakis pull together the quarrelsome factions of his party? Can he and Jackson live together constructively? Can he lure back the millions of disaffected Democrats who supported Ronald Rea-

#### Nation

gan in 1984? Although for the moment at least Dukakis leads Bush in national surveys, his advantage is tenuous—and so is the Democratic coalition.

Dukakis is only beginning to focus on these new pitfalls. Whatever dangers lie ahead for him, baseless euphoria is not among them. The day after his New York triumph, the Duke was once again the practicing Governor in Boston. While commentators were loudly proclaiming him the apparent nominee. Dukakis was modestly observing, "It's not over until it's over, and I mean it." His mode of travel was similarly humble at day's end: he walked across the Boston Common from the Massachusetts State House to the Park Street T station to start his customary half-hour subway ride home to

The token clerk offered free passage, but the Governor bought a 60¢ token, then dashed through the turnstile carrying his nylon briefcase. From the straphanger position, he talked about the Democrats-"There is a very broad consensus for this party, probably more than we've had in 30 to 40 years, around issues of opportunity and jobs and housing and health care and civil rights"-until he was interrupted by an irritated older woman with a more local concern. "Excuse me. Governor," she asked in a raspy Boston accent, "when are you going to put our streetcars back to the Arborway?" "As soon as we get the place shaped up." Dukakis answered. Another elderly citizen insisted on conveying "one bit of advice for you-don't worry." Dukakis assured this well-wisher, "I don't worry. I'm having a good time."

n fact, there is still much to worry about. Dukakis' latest and most important victory to date was a product of shrewd defensive play and some luck, rather than the innovative offense he will need in the fall. Jackson started off with virtually solid backing from New York's blacks and heavy support among Hispanics. To win, he still had to reach a significant bloc of white liberals and union members. Most of all, he had to hope that Gore would peel enough white votes from Dukakis to make the race competitive. Instead, Gore flopped utterly. He became a prisoner of his chief local patron, New York City Mayor Ed Koch. whose vituperative attacks on Jackson further polluted the city's dense ethnic atmosphere and totally obscured Gore's own image. Local TV cameras repeatedly captured Gore looking bewildered, like a farm boy being fleeced by a Times Square three-card-monte artist, as Koch lashed out at Jackson's shortcomings.

Jackson's campaign was his usual kinetic circus, strong on spirit, short on tactical precision. While he avoided a direct

		4
Which candidate would do a better job:	Bush	Dukakis
Attacking the drug problem in the U.S.	30%	45%
Keeping the economy strong	42%	43%
Helping the homeless	21%	57%
Reducing the federal deficit	32%	41%
Dealing with the Soviet Union	49%	32%
Dealing with problems in the Middle East	47%	33%
Restoring America's position in the world	37%	39%

In the final days, Jackson's local centurions, rather than his national advisers, dominated his scheduling. He found himself returning repeatedly to black and Hispanic districts instead of mining racially diverse neighborhoods, as he had in other states. Jackson complained about his list itinerary, but not strongly enough to change it. Conceded one of his aides: "It was a very, very black campaign."

Dukakis, for his part, practiced a speak-no-evil strategy designed to avoid mistakes and emphasize his sober competence. Over and over again he reminded listeners, "I don't want to be a great communicator. I want to be a great builder." Unlike Gore, he courted the large Jewish community without debasing himself. Unlike Jackson, he sounded sympathetic about bise-tily problems without commit-

Suppose you had to choose between these candidates and Bush, for whom would you vote?	8	BUSH		
Dukakis	50%	39%		
Jackson	34%	52%		
Dukakis/Gore	49%	39%		
Dukakis/Jackson	47%	42%		
From a national telephone poll of 1,075 registered voters taken for TIME on April 20-21 by Yankelovich Clancy				

ting himself to grandiose spending programs or a tax increase. Dukakis' New York manager, Paul Bograd, summarized the tactics simply: "We just bore in, bore in, bore in with the basic Dukakis message." Yet the winner was an oddly passive figure as the campaign pivoted on Jackson, Gore and Koch. By default, he occupied the middle position between Jackson on the left and Gore's vague pretensions about patrolling the party's right flank. The ABC News exit poll indicated that about a third of Dukakis' supporters were voting primarily against a rival rather than for him.

Afterward Dukakis bemoaned the tenor of New York's campaign: "What happened obviously polarized things. I think it's very important that that not happen again." Yet during the brouhaha, Dukakis

did not take a stand against Koch's excesses. Nor did he campaign in black precincts, except for one brief symbolic visit. When the votes were counted, Jackson had captured 97% of the black electorate, according to the NBC News survey, and 16% of the white. Dukakis won the primary in the suburbs and upstate areas: ethnically, he mustered a strong combination of Jewish and white Catholic supporters. Most troubling, from Dukakis' viewpoint, was his inability to win among blue-collar and union families, which Jackson carried in New York. "Democrats who sweat for a living" are not yet in a lather over Dukakis. The candidate professes unconcern about these ethnic and class fault lines: "I can't remember a time when the Democratic Party was more together in a fundamental way.

Yet blacks, the most devout faction in the Democratic temple, are virtually unanimous in support of Dukakis' remaining rival. Many white voters still reject the Jackson candidacy. In TME's poll, only 34% of white voters say they could vote for Jackson in November (vs. 199% who could support Dukakis). Even among white Democrats, just 45% say they could vote for Jackson in the Voter State of the Voter State of the Voter State of State Only 1999.

they could vote for Jackson. For now at least, black Democrats continue to demonstrate their customary party loyalty. When blacks supporting Jackson are asked if they would vote for another Democratic candidate in the fall. 89% say yes. More white Democrats now supporting Dukakis would defect if he lost the nomination; just 66% say they would be content with another candidate. However, blacks may yet become so angered or frustrated by what happens to Jackson that they lose interest. Many party leaders fear what a black adviser to Dukakis calls a "real danger of letdown"-a retreat to the sidelines-because Jackson's success has raised expectations so high. Eddie Williams, president of the Joint Center for Political Studies, a black think tank. argues that blacks are so eager to put a Democrat in the White House that they



KINETIC CAMPAIGNER Can Jackson deliver his disciples to the Democratic nominee in November? Will he want to?

will turn out in large numbers "provided that Jesse Jackson is not beat up or treat-ed unfairly." How to define that treatment? "It will be defined," says Williams, "by how Jackson reacts to whatever occurs."

Thus even if Dukakis can assemble a majority of convention delegates on his own, Jackson will continue to exercise tremendous power. How Dukakis deals with that power will be critical. On the personal level, their dealings have advanced from politely cool to vague-

ly friendly. Jackson customarily greets his adversary with a brewspress his deversary with a provide produle, has recently taken to placing small-talk phone calls to placing small-talk phone calls to placing small-talk phone calls to plackson. "Were going to continue to build what I hope will be a good relationship." Dukakis said. "We are united in the feeling that the stakes are very high in this election. We both want a new kind of leadership in the White House."

Jackson last week expressed his "sincere congratulations and respectful appreciation" to Dukakis for running a high-road campaign. Dukakis lately has been almost flowery in public allusions to his rival. Yet the prospect of genuine comradeship between these diametrically opposed personalities seems farfetched. The two men are poles apart in their approaches to just about everything.

Jackson likes to talk in rhyme and think in metaphor; Dukakis is as poetic as a slide rule. Jackson, the college quarterback, is a scrambler, an improviser, a mixer. Dukakis, the college runner, is essentially a loner who learned the Greek mons mou (by myself) as his first words. Jackson swest, gestures, enrotes, preachterminal monotone and metronomic motorins. Where Dukakis is cerebral and calculating, Jackson is visceral and physical. During a joint appearance in New York. The Governor shook hands as they passed. That was not enough for Jackson.

as Jesse Jackson bee	n treated	fairly b	y:		
			White Yes	ite voters No	
ne media	50%	37%	80%	13%	
emocratic Party leaders	50%	29%	64%	17%	
hite voters	52%	29%	68%	18%	
ne Dukakis campaign	55%	25%	71%	9%	

Using his bulk, he maneuvered the diminutive Dukakis back to the stage for a thumbs-up photo.

But a strong common bond is love of and skill in negotiating. A species of political bargaining has already begun, tentatively, in public. Some of this is thematictively, in public. Some of this is thematictively, in public. Some of this is the drug menace. Last week, with a large publicity flourish. Dukakis signed a bill statishishing the first statewide health insurance plan. The fact chat Jackson also repair the public of the surance plan. The fact that Jackson also repair the public of have differing views on how to pay for it.
A different form of bargaining involves power and position rather than issues. During one TV debate last week,
when asked about the vice-presidential
nomination, Jackson said, "I certainly
will have earned serious consideration,"
although he gave no indication that he
although he gave no indication that he
for the property of the property of the property
in and Campaign Chairman Willie
tin and Campaign Chairman Willie
flown talked to reporters about the sec-

ond spot for Jackson as if it were a live option. Dukakis responded the next day by observing that being second banana in the nomination race carries no guaranteed orize.

As conjecture over second place rose to a roar, Jackson realized that it was a damaging distraction as well as a tacit admission that the brass ring was beyond his reach. Dukakis even kidded Jackson Friday night during their first one-on-one debate.

When a questioner asked about Jackson's interest in the vice-presidential nomination, Dukakis ostentatiously stage-whispered, "Are you interested? Talk to me later." Jackson responded with a playful elbow jab.

Beneath the banter, both were uneasy owner the issue. Jackson's present mission is to win as many delegates as he can, starting this week in Pennsylvania and climaxing in New Jersey and California. Austin calculates that California is the one big arena where Jackson might stage a dramatic upset. Democrats there have a contrarian history of shafting the front

runner, and Jackson's operatives were even putting a perverse "win by losing" spin on their situation after New York. "Now it's okay to vote for Jackson, because he's not going to be President," an adviser explained. "It's safe to go after white votes again."

Jackson himself was turning up the pressure in a different manner. With the field reduced to two, sharper comparisons are inevitable. In speeches, Jackson is drawing distinctions in subtle terms. "This is no time for politics as usual," he said in Pennsylvania. "We don't need to massage Reaganomics; we need Jackson action." By inference, he was saying that Dukakis is a masseur whereas he is an orthopedic surgeon who will rearrange the economy's skeleton. In an interview with TIME, Jackson lapsed into the third person: "There will be a lot of comparative analysis between our approaches. Who can excite the crowds? Jackson. Jesse also

t some point, probably soon after the California primary, the negotation will have to go private, game will include the Democratic ticket's prospects in the fall and Jackson's future in the party. One can imagine a conversation in which the two fence about how radical or mainstream the platform should be and what Jackson's role will be-come. Disaktis with lope that his proud has a specific prize, such as a place on

has a definitive plan and a budget, for

fighting drugs, for building housing.

That kind of specificity, along with Jack-

son's dubious claim that his support base

is far broader than Dukakis', is also a fac-

tor in the public phase of negotiation.

the ticket And then will come one of the most critical moments in the 1988 campaign. Jackson could insist that being the first black on a national ticket is a historic milestone, one that he and his supporters have earned; it would be a bold stroke against the nation's greatest sin, one that could actually sweep the Democrats to victory by arousing the passions of social justice. Or he could say no, that he has never had the least desire to be Vice President and he is smart enough to realize that such a ticket would probably lose and thus cripple both his personal ambitions and his

If Jackson says no, Dukakis can afford to let down his reserve and hug Jackson tightly. Jackson would immediately become a great party statesman, with either a formal or an infor-





TICKET BALANCERS Energetic Bob Graham, savvy Sam Nunn

mal role, tapped and consulted on all major issues. If Jackson says yes, that he feels the Veep spot is his by right, a long and delicate dance will ensue. Dukakis will have to decide whether putting Jackson on the ticket would be more harmful than trying to exclude him, and if so, whether he has the convention votes to win such a

The further Dukakis goes in mollifying Jackson, the greater the danger of alienating moderates and conservatives in the party, particularly in the South. Though these factions again proved feekless in the nomination game—unable even to field an effective candidate, let alone win any primary outside the South—they are still essential in amassing an electoral-vote majority in November.

Southern white leaders are already sounding alarms about any lethward tilt. Some pols running this year are maneuving top ut distance between themselves and the national ticket in order to avoid a liberal tain. Jon Mills, speaker of the liberal tain. Jon Mills, speaker of the six has to show us that he isn't just another northeastern liberal. He's going to have to give us some material to work with." Texas Democratic Chairman Bob

Slagle, a Gore supporter, fears that Jackson will nail even more left-wing planks into the platform than were there in 1984, "If Dukakis gets pictured as soft on defense," says Slagle, "he's in a ton of trouble down here.' Slagle's solution: lure Georgia Senator Sam Nunn onto the ticket by offering to make him Secretary of Defense as well as Vice President. That unorthodox approach would compensate for Dukakis' lack of expertise in national security affairs, but it would be a con-

fession of weakness on his part. A choice for running mate is supposed to welcome the invitation without imposing large conditions.

and the state of t

As that untidy process lurches along and as Dukakis tries to navigate between competing factions, his strategy is clear on epinit: its time to focus as much fire as much fire as much fire as the properties of the pales Ed Meese to the Rederal deficit on mismanagement in while the Democratis have been sniping at

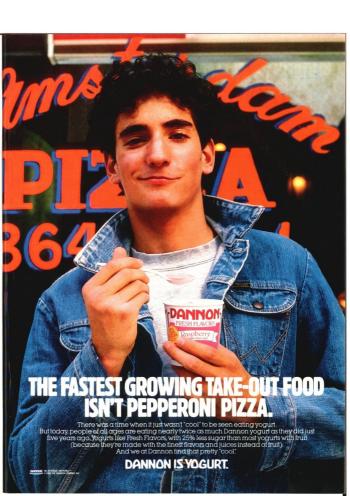
each other, Bush has enjoyed relative immunity from attack since he locked up the Republican

nomination Going after the opposition serves another purpose as well. One way to encourage peace in the family is to focus hostility on the tribe across the street, and political parties operate on the same principle. Until the convention in Atlanta confirms last week's verdict in New York. and until Dukakis. Jackson and the Southern Tories discover whether the Democratic Party is big enough to contain them all. the common enemy may help concentrate their attention wonderfully. And as the Democrats' marathon man heads toward even bigger hurdles, some of his fellow runners must help him along. - By Laurence I. Barrett. Reported by Michael Duffy with Jackson

and Michael Riley with Dukakis

## Chairman Jesse?

Jesse Jackson has made it clear that the primary thing he seeks is respect, the right to sit at the table when party elders make the big decisions. So why not put him at the head of the table by making him chairman of the Democratic National Committee during the campaign? As party chief, he would have his own multimillion-dollar campaign budget and a plane to pursue fund raising and voter registration. Paul Kirk, who has held the job for four years, is a close Dukakis associate and could be made campaign chairman. One problem: the job may seem too small for such a major figure. "Four to five months as head of the Democratic National Committee is a quite limited assignment, says Jackson Adviser Ann Lewis. Yet the job could be whatever Jackson chose to make of it. Like former Party Chairman Robert Strauss, Jackson could also undertake a variety of political and diplomatic missions, whether or not he decided to stay in the job after the election. Turning the party machinery over to Jackson even briefly could alienate many conservative Democrats. But if Chairman Jackson helped the Democrats win the White House, they might come to view it as the best thing to happen to the party.



# Finally. A sophisticated weapon in the war against plaque.

hese days, it seems like every product from mouthwash to toothpaste wants to help you fight plaque. And for very good reason. Plaque buildup is a leading cause of early gum disease which can have a number of very serious complications.

But among the so-called "plaque attackers," the INTERPLAK® Home Plaque Removal Instrument stands out as a true technological breakthrough

#### The INTERPLAK instrument cleans teeth nearly plaque-free.

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## It cleans circles

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"At last my patients enjoy using a product which we recommend."-Dr. I.W. Blackman, III, Winston-Salem, NC "Since my patients have been using the

INTERPLAK instrument. I have seen a dramatic improvement in the health of their teeth and gums"-

Dr. S.G. Newhart, Orthodontist, Beverly Hills, CA

'It's a technological breakthrough in home dental care."-Dr. Alan Kushner, Chicago, II.

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#### Nation

# The Nova That Stayed Nebulous

Al Gore ran as someone worse than he actually is



on Super Tuesday, it seemed that the Tennessee Senator had rewritten the rules of the primary process and lived up to his promise of being the best and brightest of a new political generation. The Harvardeducated Viet Nam veteran had it all: a

subtle and supple mind tempered by a self-aware sense of humor, the savvy of a Southern bull breeder mixed with the polish of a Georgetown Prince Charming. Yet somehow he managed to rack up a woeful string of defeats in the Northern states until he finally limped away last week, perhaps permanently bruised.

What went wrong? In fact, Gore's run for the Oval Office was always a long shot. A freshman Senator who entered the race only after more notable Southern moderates such as Sam Nunn and Charles Robb had shied at the gate, Gore did well to survive until the finals. "If I had disappeared from the earth for

six months and came back at the end of April to find that Al Gore was one of three candidates left, my reaction would have been near disbelief," says his friend Carter Eskew, a Washington political consultant

Gore pioneered a new way of seeking the nomination by bypassing Iowa and jump-starting a campaign on Super Tuesday. But he seemed to spend more time pondering tactical maneuvers than propounding a vision or message. And a cam-

paign that lives by tactics can die by tactics. Having skipped Iowa, Gore square danced around New Hampshire, a state where his strong environmental record and centrist solidity might have generated support. In the end, he frittered away \$430,000 on a halfhearted run that netted a pitiful 7% of the New Hampshire vote. "If we had used some of that money in the South, we might have won a few more states," says a Gore strategist. "Then the story would not have been 'Gore survives Super Tuesday' but 'Gore wins Su-per Tuesday.' " The candidate then made the tactical error of committing a lot of money to Illinois, rather than waiting for Wisconsin, on the mistaken assumption that Paul Simon would collapse in his na-

tive state. Yet tactics that in hindsight seem like blunders would have seemed like brilliance had Gore caught fire. He failed because he never developed a visceral connection with voters. On the stump, he tried to convey passion by shouting, but

FALLEN STAR Prince Albert made no visceral connections

the volume seemed turned up in all the wrong places. Even in his commercials he had trouble conveying sincerity; focus groups rated as worst those that showed Gore speaking directly to the camera.

Overshadowing everything was Gore's inability to develop a consistent message or convey a clear sense of who he is. First he ran as Sam Nunn, differentiating himself from the Democratic pack on defense and foreign policy by speaking loudly about carrying a big stick. Then he ran as Richard Gephardt, picking up the

hot populist rhetoric of the fading Missouri Congressman. After that came a Gary Hart phase, as Gore briefly cast himself as the candidate of the future against Dukakis' politics of the past. Finally, in New York. Gore ran at times as virtually a Likud Party candidate, portraying himself as the best friend Israel has.

None of these personas is totally false. All are part of the matrix that defines Gore: a Democrat who grasps America's role in a changing world, has fought for the rights of average citizens, understands the challenges posed by future technologies and has consistently supported Isra-

el. "The truth is, Al Gore is a complex individual with a wide range of interests and a record of activity in each one of those areas," says an aide. While that might be attractive in a person, it can be a disadvantage in a presidential candidate." But having failed to define himself. Gore was helpless as others did it for him, often in inaccurate terms-Southerner, conservative, panderer, racist.

When he suspended his campaign last Thursday, three weeks after his birthday. Gore quipped. "I was doing great until I turned 40." In fact, being 39 was part of the prob-

lem. His failings were those of the young-indecision during critical times, a desire to please too many people, and insecurity about his age. He did not capitalize on what could have been his biggest asset-the vigor that stood in contrast to the sclerotic dusk of the Reagan era. He bottled up his puckish humor and came off as stiff. He eschewed well-tailored suits that could have turned him into a hip-looking heartthrob with a brain, preferring a conservative blue outfit that made him look less a candidate for President than the pi-

lot of his chartered jet

Gore not only failed to win the nomination but tarnished his prospects of being on the ticket through his transparently strategic attacks on Jackson and Dukakis. By alienating blacks he may even have threatened his re-election to the Senate in 1990. His unimpressive showing means that he has failed to position himself as an early front runner for 1992, should the Democrats lose. But in this case, Gore's youth works to his advantage. He remains one of the brightest and most sensible politicians in his party. And even if he waits until the election of 2024 to roll around, he will still be younger than Ronald Reagan is today. - By Steven Holmes with Gore

# The Mouth That Roared

New York City normally delights in its feisty political brawls. But last week its motor-mouth mayor, Ed Koch, managed to produce a rare consensus among the Big Apple's ever quarreling factions: he had gone too far in his intemperate attacks on Jesse Jackson. Ignoring his city's volatile racial and religious sensitivities, Koch told Jews that they "would be crazy" to vote for Jackson and charged that Jackson "lies under stress." In an elegant editorial rebuke, the normally friendly New York Times charged that Koch sounded "like someone throwing a tantrum." Newsday Columnist Murray Kempton called his smothering support of Albert Gore the "most disabling encounter for a national politician since Gary Hart met Donna Rice." It might also be disabling for Koch, who has now energized blacks, Hispanics and chagrined whites to seek a sensible alternative in next year's mayoral election. In exit polls last week, 60% of voters said Koch should not run for re-election.

#### Nation

# **During His First 100 Days...**

How Dukakis would handle being the Governor of the entire nation



We thought of doing a speech on the first 100 days of a Dukakis Administration. We did a speech on regional economic development instead.

-Christopher Edley, issues director

The morning of the New York primary. Michael Dukakis flew back to Boston to pursue his favorite pastime: governing Massachusetts. As others sought out early exit-poll results, the Governor spent nearly two hours in his Beacon Hill office conferring with Top Advisers Hale Champion and John DeVillars. The gravity of the moment, however, was not lost on DeVillars, who was once Dukakis' student at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. DeVillars later marveled at the incongruity of discussing health insurance with Dukakis as it "dawns on you that a year from now this man may be sitting in the Oval Office talking about national issues." Even then, DeVillars speculates, 'you won't see that much change in how he approaches being President from how he's been as Governor.

Would the future flow that naturally from the past? Are the contours of a Dukakis Administration that easy to grasp? Would President Dukakis behave as if the

U.S. were an elongated version of the Bay State? Does Dukakis fully understand the magnitude of the difference?

There is scant evidence that Dukakis has a clearly defined vision of his presidency. His disciplined, orderly mind has been understandably fixated on the task at hand-winning the nomination-and the rigors of a primary campaign leave little time for reflective thinking. On the few occasions that Dukakis has permitted himself to muse aloud about the White House, aides say, there was a puckish glee as he toyed with the ironies of being Governor of all the people. At a recent gubernatorial staff meeting, Dukakis joked that he imagined himself in the Oval Office telling Fred Salvucci, his current transportation secretary, that the ambitious plans to use federal funds to rebuild Boston's central artery would have to be scaled back because "Los Angeles needs the money.

As a candidate, Dukakis has drawn one indelible lesson from his experience as Governor: an almost pathological fear of binding commitments. He was defeated for re-election in 1978 in part because he was forced to renounce a campaign pledge not to raise taxes. As a consequence, Dukakis has become as parsimonious with

promises as Jack Benny was with dimes. It is both startling and politically shrewd that Dukakis, in over a year of campaigning, is on record as making just two unalterable if-elected commitments. Neither of them loomed large on the agenda of any special-interest group, nor did they spark a passionate reaction from the voters. But they are emblematic of the mind-set that Dukakis would bring to the presidency. During a debate before the New Hampshire primary, Dukakis the righteous reformer vowed that the first bill he would send to Congress would be one limiting the influence of political-action committees. Even more characteristic is the carrot that Dukakis dangled before Iowa voters: a promise to hold the first in a series of regional economic-development conferences in Davenport in February 1989.

Spurring economic development would be not only a touchstone of a Dukakis Administration but also a likely reflection of the peripatetic quality that he would bring to the presidency. "Dukakis would get a lot of things going very fast,' savs Frank Keefe, the Massachusetts secretary of administration and finance, who has worked for the Governor since 1975. "What he'd spend lots of his time doing is

# Inside the Brain Trust

M ichael Dukakis' career has been marked by a supreme self-sufficiency. As Governor, he has tended to keep his own counsel. When asked to name his boss's five or six closest advisers, a Dukakis aide said, "Some people might argue that there aren't five or six." But in recent years Dukakis has learned, if only by necessity, to rely on a wider group. As the campaign gathers momentum, the outlines of a Dukakis brain trust are taking shape

A stint in Cambridge helps gain admittance. In fact, some aides openly worry about the appearance of a Harvard mafia The Governor's closest confidant is his Harvard Law School roommate Paul Brountas. As campaign chairman, Brountas, 56, is a lot like the candidate, always erring on the side of caution. But when staffers want to make a special appeal to Dukakis, they usually do it through his old friend. Should Dukakis mestic-policy adviser. Standing in the wings is Sasso, the mastermind of the campaign, who left after distributing the Joseph Biden "attack video" last fall. From his office at a Boston advertising agency, Sasso has kept in touch with the candidate. Should Dukakis go all the way to the White House, Sasso is likely to follow, perhaps as chief of staff Jack Corrigan, 31, who has worked for Dukakis seven years,

win in the fall. Brountas, a senior partner at Hale and Dorr,

any Administration. A former Harvard Law Review president and Supreme Court clerk who is on leave as a professor at the

law school. Estrich took over the campaign during the turmoil

after John Sasso's resignation. Another 35-year-old Harvard

Law School professor, Christopher Edley, has done an out-

standing job as the campaign's issues director. The top-ranking

black on the Governor's team. Edley could wind up as chief do-

would be a likely candidate for Attorney General. Campaign Manager Susan Estrich, 35, is likely to be part of

is a talented, tough-minded operator who set up the candidate's



BROUNTAS His old roo mate's closest confidant

ESTRICH Brilliant mind, tough demeanor. tougher role to fill





As issues director, he puts meat in the message

JACKSON The famed tax col lector would fit in at the OMB or IRS



what he likes best: traveling around the country, convening task forces, talking with Governors and mayors, promoting regional economic development. Longtime advisers predict that Dukakis would chafe at the constraints of life in the White House and try to break out the presidency through nonstop travel. Says Devillars: "Therefile plenty of work for advance men in a Dukakis presidency."

Almost as if anticipating facile and unflattering comparisons with Jimmy Carter, the Dukakis camp goes out of its way to insist that the Governor has

learned to set limited and attainable priorities. Paul Brountas, who has replaced former Campaign Manager John Sasso as the candidate's closest confidant, contends that Dukakis failed in his abortive first term because "there were far too many legislative initiatives." Brountas kakis' first year in the White House would consist of perhaps a "half dozen manageable programs." Seated one row behind a dozing and generally far vaguer Dukakis aboard the campaign plane, Brountas ticked off some of the priority issues in lawyerly fashion: housing, drugs, health insurance, college education and improving the status of teachers.

The innate caution of Dukakis' cam-



RIGHTEOUS REFORMER A fear of binding commitments

paign style sometimes leaves aides in the peculiar role of providing both the specificity and the passion that the candidate so assiduously avoids. Chris Edley, for example, talks animatedly about Dukakis' moving immediately after the election to forge a "vigorous consensus on a multi-year deficit plan." Implicit in this prediction is an awareness that far more overt sacrifice will required to douse the deficit than merely mobilizing an army of IRS agents to hunt down tax scofflaws. "There will be real action on the economic front." Edley says. "On the three fronts of the budget, economic development and international economics, you can expect to see a lot of hard pushing.

Part of the problem in depicting a Du-

kakis presidency, of course, is that soaring poetry and air castles of ideas are as alien to Dukakis as they are natural to Jesse Jackson. But in fairness, it must be said that the reality of a Dukakis presidency would be more uplifting than its anticipation. As a pragmatic problem solver, Dukakis is often at his best reacting decisively rather than initiating boldly. "Michael likes to make decisions," Hale Champion, the Governor's chief of staff, has said. "He never stalls to get irrelevant information. His basic impulse is to get on with things

For Dukakis, a decision often begins with a staff-written memo, generally a few pages long. The next step is a meeting in which the Governor displays an almost obsessive concern that his staff has consulted virtually all points of view. This quest for consensus is likely to be a hallmark of a Dukakis presidency. "You won't see three people or eight people talking to Dukakis; there will be hundreds," predicts Keefe. "Maybe there'll be three people sitting around at the end of the day, but even they won't have a monopoly on input." Unlike Carter, Dukakis has painfully learned to delegate responsibility, "Michael won't waste time deciding who gets to use the White House tennis court," says a longtime associate. "His principal concern would be

national organization. Nicholas Mitropoulos, 36, Dukakis' constant shadow on the campraign trail, is an earthy, good-natured pol. A former associate director of Havared's Institute of Politics, Mitropoulos became the Governer's director of personale, and mer associate dean of Havard's John Fitzgerald Kennedy School of Government, was largely responsible for Dukakis' highly touted tax-collection efforts. If Jackson could be lured away from his job at the Bank of Boston, he could fill a top position at the Treasury or the Office of Management and Budget.

The Kennedy School faculty has provided Dukakis with four of his most trusted consultants on foreign affairs: Graham Allison, 48, dean of the school and an easygoing administrator, Joseph Nye, 51, an expert on nuclear stability who may become National Security Adviser, Robert Murray, 53, a soft-spoken former Assistant Secretary of Defense; and Al Carneale, 51, a politically astute arms-control specialist, From outside the Harvard mafia comes Madeleine Albright, 51, a Georgetown pro-

fessor who gets along well with Dukakis and has figured prominently in handling foreign policy campaign issues. If elected, Dukakis might reach beyond his circle of advisers to Paul Warnke, the veteran liberal advocate of arms control; Warren Christopher, former Under Secretary of State, and Peter Tarnoff, president of New York's Council on Foreign Relations and occasional adviser to Democratic candidates.

On economic issues, Investment Banker Felix Rohatyn, 90, could be the pointman of a Dukakis presidency. Rohatyn, who helped rescue New York City from its fiscal apocalypse a decade ago, would be a natural Treasury Secretary in almost any Democratic Administration. Kennedy School Professor Robert Reich, be guru of industria policy, has written several economic memos for the Dukakis campaign, but his sometimes headstrong style has kept him out of the inner circle. The contract of the contrac

ANTA STRAN

ALLISON A trusted consultant on foreign policy

A candidate for National security Adviser



TOTAL STREET

ALBRIGHT An important voice on international issue:

ROHATYN This banker could be tapped for Treasury



why do members of my staff have time to play tennis?"

When Dukakis embarked on his quest more than a year ago, he knew little and cared less about foreign policy. In the words of a close friend, "This was a man who had never heard of a D-5 missile before March 1987." Although he has recently grown more adept, Dukakis' early campaign appearances did nothing to quiet concerns that foreign policy was his personal window of vulnerability. A deep moralistic streak prompted Dukakis to stress rule-of-law pieties: he argued that aid to the contras violated the Rio treaty and lamented the failure of the U.N. Security Council to halt the Iran-Iraq war.

For all the tumult over Dukakis' mastery of foreign policy flash cards, the initiatives he would be likely to pursue as President are right out of the Democratic Party mainstream. There would be an immediate effort to pick up on arms-control negotiations with the Soviet Union wherever the Reagan Administration left off. "We want to avoid the historical pattern of wait-and-see delay that happens with presidential transitions," says Edley, At the same time, advisers like Robert Murray of the Kennedy School sound a note of realistic caution. "What you don't do," explains Murray, "is to march off to Moscow with a new set of rules about relationships." Dukakis' own words about Mikhail Gorbachev sometimes betray a palpable eagerness to negotiate face to face, one economic reformer to another. This aspect of the candidate's world view was best expressed by Brountas when he said, "He's dying to get across the table from Gorbachev and see what the problems are, to get to know him, to discuss their mutual hopes."

bit more predictable are Dukakis' attitudes toward the defense budget. As a candidate, he has ritualistically denounced Star Wars, the B-1 bomber and the MX missile, the D-5 Trident missile and even the proposed mobile Midgetman, a darling of centrist arms-control advocates. But he has scrupulously avoided the beguiling trap of promising dovish Democratic voters cuts in overall military spending. Rather, Edley speaks in terms of keeping the defense budget "stable." and Murray uses the phrase "zero real growth." After talking to Senator Sam Nunn last year, Dukakis began emphasizing the need to improve conventional forces rather than build new strategic systems. But none of his top advisers believe that he could instantly reorient spending. As Edley explains, "It's very hard at the outset to be bold with the defense budget.

A year ago, Governor Dukakis was just another Democratic minnow adrift in the broad sea of presidential politics. A year from now, President Dukakis may be completing his first 100 days in the White House. But for that to happen, he must begin to flesh out how he would use that period to be more than just the nation's Governor. -By Walter Shapiro

# Rooting for "Michalis"

The family house no longer stands, and there are not even any relatives around to reminisce. But in the little Greek village of Pelopi (pop. 800), everyone knows "Michalis" Dukakis, son of a local boy who made good in America. "For the son of an emigrant from our little village to be President of the United States would be a great honor," beams Villager Maria Stephanou

With slight smiles of bemusement, the locals in Pelopi show off the property where the Dukakis house once stood, the village register where the Dukakis births are listed, and . . . Well, that about sums up the tour. Pelopi is an unassuming village, not given to ostentation over potential Presidents-at least not yet. "If he wins, and I don't die first, maybe we'll put up a plaque for him," wisecracks Iacovos Manolis, 81, who built his house on top of the ruins of the Dukakis

Dukakis' father Panos left Pelopi for America in the early 1900s. Dukakis' second cousin Elli Petridou, who lives in nearby Mytilene, confides that Panos, then 15, left Greece against the wishes of his father, who had a store just across the water in Turkey. "Michael's grandfather sent a telegram to my father telling him to tie Panos up so he couldn't leave for America. Instead, my father got him an English teacher," she says conspiratorially. The rest is history: Panos became



The rooftops of Pelopi, home to Dukakis' father Panos

a doctor in Massachusetts and married a girl from the Greek town of Larissa, o became a schoolteacher in America

Pelopi, so far as roots go, is a presidential biographer's dream: tucked away in e mountains on the island of Lesbos, it is connected to the outside world by a dirt road that winds past valleys with olive trees and shepherds tending goats. Red-tiled roofs of the village houses spill down the mountainside. Everybody waves, smiles. Pelopi is as famous for its hospitality as for what the Greeks call ros, or seriousness. In American politics that may translate into dull and dogged, but on Lesbos, sovaros is high tribute indeed, and the people of Pelopi have it by the barrelful. For just that reason, Pelopi's President Constantinos Stephanou says he foresaw a bright future for Dukakis even back in 1976 when the Massachusetts Governor paid the village a visit: "I knew he was going somewhere, because he's very serious. America hasn't had a serious President since Kennedy."

Of course, one can go too far with the Greeks-for-Dukakis bandwagon. Even Dukakis' half dozen or so second cousins who remain on Lesbos are too sophisticated to expect much from any American politician. Retired Schoolteacher Alexandros Chiotellis tools around in an old Honda with a DUKAKIS FOR PRESIDENT sticker in the rear window. Now employed in a lottery shop. Chiotellis gives a wry look when asked what the Duke will do for Greece. "Absolutely nothing," he says. "He will look after the interests of America first. We expect justice from him and nothing more.

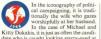
But no matter what Dukakis does, the home folks are rooting for their favorite son. "We would like to have two Michaels running the world: Michalis of the United States and Mikhail of the Soviet Union," says Stephanou. "And, of course, if he becomes President, I will go as president of the village to America for a summit of the Presidents." By Cathy Booth/Pelopi lacovos Manolis



#### Nation

# **Kitty Provides the Passion**

She won't unpack in front of him, but they share everything else



In the case of Michael and Kitty Dukakis, it is just as often the candidate who is caught looking starry-eved at

The intimacy of Michael and Kitty. unlike that of many political unions, is never questioned. Seeing them together suggests that the lyrics of sappy love songs can be true-or perhaps that he is the one candidate this year who could be accused of

uxoriousness. Marching in a chilly St. Patrick's Day parade in Chicago last month, Kitty asked him to push up her collar against the wind. Dukakis, who forgot that he was wearing a microphone that allowed the press to hear his comments, whispered to her as he adjusted her coat, "Tonight if I'm asleep, wake me up. Don't let a moment go by." (Kitty cut in with a sharp, "Your microphone's on.") Sometimes, to counteract criticism that he lacks fire. Dukakis will tell audiences, "Kitty thinks I'm passionate.

They present a sitcom study in contrasts, a political Odd Couple. He is cool; she is warm. He counts their pennies; she spends their dollars. She favors sleek high heels; he wears clunky wing tips (One of her cardinal campaign rules is not to unlest he see some new pur-

chase.) His desk is as clean as a putting green; hers resembles a rummage sale of old papers. He is guarded; she is winningly open. She loves to gossip; for him, small talk is a foreign language. He is Greek Orthodox: she is Jewish

Whereas Dukakis is contained, Kitty spills over with emotion. When she sneaks a cigarette, she will often say, "Don't tell Michael!" On nights before primary votes, she does not sleep, and she is a devoted reader of tracking polls, which he largely ignores. High-strung and hyper, she speaks in a quick, clipped cadence, like someone eager to get off the phone in order to make another call. The two complement each other. It may well be true that the only person who knows the real Kitty is Michael and that the only person who knows the real Michael is Kitty. Yet there is one attribute they share: ambition

Katharine Dickson is the daughter of Harry Ellis Dickson, a former violinist for the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the retired associate director of the Boston Pops. Her home was a lively one, with musicians and artists as frequent guests. At an early age she took up modern dance, and later became a teacher of it. Her nickname comes from her mother's friend, the vivacious actress Kitty Carlisle

Kitty first met Michael Dukakis when she was 14, but Dukakis, then a self-important high school senior, does not recall it. After high school, she went to Penn State, which she left in her sophomore

year. She married John Chaffetz, who was VIIKC

pack in front of her husband, OPPOSITES ATTRACT Magic at a rally in New York City

in the Air Force ROTC, and moved to California. Their union did not last: they divorced when their son John was three years old. Kitty then rented a small apartment in Cambridge, Mass., for herself and her son and began attending Lesley Col-

lege part time A mutual friend brought together the 24-year-old divorcée and the serious, idealistic Harvard Law graduate. The normally frugal Dukakis took her to a smart French restaurant and an Italian movie on their first date. (They hated the movie, left early and went back to her apartment for tea.) Dukakis was quickly smitten. She was impressed with how he took to her son, occasionally baby-sitting while Kitty studied for an exam. When the two decided to marry, Dukakis' parents were less than thrilled: they liked her, but a divorced woman with a young son was not what they had envisioned for their Michael. Kitty's parents were delighted; her mother dubbed Michael "the Saint." referring to not only his righteous manner but his willingness to put up with the mercurial and sometimes difficult Katharine

When she married Dukakis in 1963, Kitty had been taking diet pills for seven years, depending on her small, 5-mg dose of amphetamines to get her through the day. Eleven years later, her husband discovered her cache of pills, but her subsequent attempt to kick the habit failed. She finally succeeded in 1982 at a drug-rehabilitation center in Minnesota, although it was only this past summer that she bravely went public with the story of her 26year addiction.

Drug rehabilitation is one of a variety of issues to which she is devoted. She has been effective in fighting for the homeless, serving as co-chair of the Governor's Advisory Committee on the Homeless. She

and her staff are credited with devising a plan for the state and charitable organizations to share the cost of maintaining shelters. Seven years ago, she organized a task force on Cambodian refugee children in Thailand, and she has led two tours of refugee camps there and helped to bring orphaned children to the U.S.

At the state house, she has an office down the hall from the Governor's, and has been known to stride into a meeting unannounced and question her husband on some pet project while slightly startled state legislators look on. She can be imperious with others, and is quite exacting with those who work for her. If thankyou notes are not done perfectly, she demands r ones. She is vigilant about catching mistakes, from a

misspelled name to an incorrect date. Even more so than her husband, she does

not suffer incompetence gladly. As a campaigner, she is a definite asset. In Brooklyn's Brighton Beach, she switched into Yiddish at appropriate moments. While she can be just as unexciting as her husband when delivering a scripted speech, she turns spontaneous and exuberant when she breaks away from the text, bringing applause from charmed audiences. If she becomes First Lady, she is certain to break the set-inaspic mold of Nancy Reagan. She has little tolerance for what are known as 'silly wife questions." which have always pursued political spouses. When a woman reporter wanted to know. "How do Michael's shirts look so fresh at the end of the day?," she starchily replied, "I don't do his shirts. You'll have to ask him." -By Richard Stengel. Reported by Robert Ajemian/Boston and Michael Riley with Dukakis

### The Presidency

Hugh Sidey

# Of Poets and Word Processors

Jesse is a poet. He looks and listens to America, to his aides and even to report. Their feelings, their moods, their words flow through his system. His lines come from his soud, and they have swirled around deep down in there, marinated in his special anger and ambition, sometimes for weeks. Then he speaks them into a tape recorder and hears them come back at him. And he tunes them and times them, then lofts them to the misty-eyed worshipers who are swept with him into the clouds.

Mario is a poet too. A man of immigrant parents, soaked in the American dream since birth. Man of the melting pot with big hands and arrms and mind, who crouches and sweeps and roars in political iambic pentameter and some free verse. A man still surprised that he is Governor of New York and talked about for President of the U.S. It is the stuff of sone.

Mike is a word processor. Hummmmm. Click, click, click. Paragraphs from that fellow over there, thoughts from that woman opposite. Phrases from pleasant platitudes past and present. Committee review. Clip and paste. Put this up there, that down here. Reassemble it all in a white plastic machine and then read it.

It took the practiced ear of Richard Nixon to tell us that. Give him his due

He's got a feel for the pols, and he can sum them up with a brutal line or two. On Meet the Press a few weeks ago, Anchor Tom Brokaw asked if Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, the leading Democratic presidential contender, was just "too dull to be an effective nominee." Nixon was ready, dark flash from the eyes. "Let me answer that question this way. I've often said that the best politics is poetry rather than prose. Jesse Jackson is a poet



Speechwriter Noonan with her son and her Fax machine

Cuomo is a poet. And Dukakis is a word processor."

This out of talk gladdens the heart of Peggy Nconan. She is the hired poet of George Bush, trying to turn the inner impulses of the Vice President into words that soar. "Government is words," says Nconan. "Thoughts are reduced to paper for speeches which become policy. Poetry has everything to do with speeches—cadence, thythm, imagery, sweep, a knowledge that words beautiful the control of the

Noonan once wrote for Dan Rather ("Autumn has dropped like a fruit") and then became Ronald Reagan's best lyricist ("The Challeager crew was pulling us into the future, and we'll continue to follow them"). "When she left, the Great Communicator sang no more," said Michael Horowitz, former counsel of OMI. George Boht tapped Norman's talents, and she came up with his best line yet: much to do:"

On her remarkable journey from being a Newark secretary to one of the capitals pre-eminent political poets, he has acquired a dashing husband with an eye patch, Richard Rahn, an economist with the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and a ten-month-old son with eyes as blue as the evening sky. And something else—a facisimile machine that rests on her kitchen cabinet just above little Wills place. He is fascinated with in routine to the cabinet just above little Wills place. The comment of th

Poetry, as Jackson and Cuomo and Nixon and Noonan know, will not remedy an empty mind or a cold heart. But if all other factors are reasonably balanced, the man who learns how to make the most beanbags dance will probably be the next President.

# Meese "Malaise"

Reagan gets an earful

Their criticisms of Attorney General Edwin Meses have been aired in the past month, but this time the two top Justice Department officials had an elite audience: Ronald Reagan and George Bush. In the Oval Office last Wednesday, the two attorneys told the President that his firind of 20 years lacked the "moral authority" to remain the nation's top lawenforcement officer.

Outgoing Deputy Attorney General Arnold Burns said Meese's legal troubles had infected the Justice Department with a "malaise." That had worsened the day before, when three more of Burns' aides quit, bringing to five the number of highranking Justice officials who have left since Burns and William Weld announced their resignations March 29. Weld, who had headed the criminal division, told Reagan what he had earlier told Meese: that he would indict the Attorney General if he were running the investigation. Meese's friend E. Robert Wallach had profited from his relationship with the Attorney General. Weld said, and it appeared that Wallach had made sure that Meese was rewarded for going along with his schemes.

The President asked no questions during the 30-minute meeting. Meese then gave Reagan his side of the story, presenting a rosier assessment, although John Shepherd, his nominee to replace Burns, had withdrawn his name just hours before. The St. Louis lawyer decided that the eight-month job would not be worth enduring more questions about his personal life in the confirmation process. Predicted the confirmation process predicted ney General will ever be confirmed as long as Ed is there."

Washington's tolerance for Meese is fading. No Republican, particularly not George Bush, wants to head into the Noember elections while Meese sits in the Justice Department offering a fat target moved by the accounts of the resigned Justice officials, bellowed a loud no when saked last week whether Meese should resign. But not even Reagan may be able to stand by his pail when later this spring Independent Counsel James McKayi issues on Meese's unethical conduct.



Their song? I Got You Babe

# "Carlton. It's lowest."



"And it's got the taste that's right for me."



AR 1 mg

Carlton LOWEST SOFT PACK

1 mg.

U.S. Gov't. Test Method confirms 17 years of U.S. Gov't. Reports:

Carlton is still lowest!

King Soft Pack: 1 mg. "tar", 0.1 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Jan. '85.

SURGEON GENERAL'S WARNING: Cigarette Smoke Contains Carbon Monoxide.

# **Send Them a Message**

A battle over plant closings imperils the trade bill

The provisions are complex enough to fill 1,000 pages. Among other things, the 1988 omnibus trade bill would give the President special authority to conduct international negotiations and strengthen his ability to retaliate against "pervasive" barriers raised by foreign countries

against U.S. imports. But the debate on the bill is being dominated by a rather extraneous and distinctly secondary issue: Should manufacturers be forced to give employees 60 days' notice before closing a plant?

Ronald Reagan last week vowed that if a bill containing the plantclosing provision "is unloaded on my desk, I will stamp it REJECT and ship it back to where it was made. The House nonetheless fought off an attempt to strip the provision from the bill and then passed the legislation 312 to 107. The Senate votes this week; the only question is whether the trade bill, three years in

the making and supported by groups as diverse as organized labor, farmers and the oil industry, will pass by a vote larger than the two-thirds necessary to override the expected veto

The controversial plant-closing requirement would oblige employers of 100 or more workers to give them 60 days' notice before shutting down an operation or conducting heavy layoffs (500 workers or a third of the labor force). Arguments for dustries less competitive internationally and against the proposal are less than compelling. Democrats and unionists contend that notice is an act of simple hu-



Notice not required: an abandoned steel mill in Houston

manitarianism that allows workers time for adjustment to a blow that would otherwise shatter their lives. Says Ohio Senator Howard Metzenbaum: "It's time to mandate a little human decency." But many companies already give notice voluntarily or shut down a plant in stages. The AFL-CIO, which depends on the Labor Depart-

ment for information, has trouble proving its case through either hard numbers or

vivid anecdotes. On the other side, Gary Holmes, spokesman for the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, asserts that the plant-closing provision "will make our in-

It injects rigidities into the system [and] makes it less flexible." But that does not explain why Japan, which has a no-tice system, and West Germany. where it is difficult to fire anyone, let alone close a whole plant, are com-

petitive enough to force the U.S. to consider a sweeping trade bill. The real arguments have more

to do with symbolism than logic. Adoption of the plant-closing provision would give organized labor one of its few legislative victories of recent years, and the AFL-CIO is going all out to win. It has threatened to withdraw its support of the whole bill if the plant-closing provision is stripped from it. Corporate and White House opponents fear not so much that the provision will do great damage in itself but that it will

set a precedent for increasing Government regulation of business, which is anathema to Reagan's free-market philosophy. Some partisans on both sides confess privately that the provision is not worth the passion being expended on it. But such thoughts come too late: the battle lines have been drawn.

# Who Needs Bridges?

With the roadways jammed, commuters take to ferries

arbor cities like San Francisco and New York once boasted intricate networks of ferries carrying thousands of passengers each day. Then came the Golden Gate Bridge and the Holland Tunnel and dozens of other highway

links. By the mid-1950s, urban ferries were a vanishing species, victims of America's love affair with the automobile. But these days, with once gleaming bridges and tunnels clogged with traffic or closed for repair, ferries are making a come-

Last week New York City officials launched an emergency ferry service to shuttle commuters between Brooklyn and Manhattan after the deteriorating 85-year-old Williamsburg Bridge was declared unsafe for automobile and subway traffic. Already boats from eleven private companies are plying the city's waterways, ferrying passengers

from Oueens, Brooklyn, Staten Island and New Jersey to Wall Street and midtown Manhattan. In San Francisco, ferries once again churn across the bay, shuttling cars and passengers to Marin and Solano counties. Last year Seattle-area ferries carried 18

million riders, more than the number of people who passed through the Seattle-Tacoma airport. "People who live around Puget Sound love their ferries," says Therese Ogle of Washington State Ferries.



Back to the future: crossing from Brooklyn to Manhattan

They just scoff at bridges."

They are not alone. In Boston bridges and tunnels linking downtown to Logan Airport are routinely jammed. But the Airport Water Shuttle speeds riders from the waterfront district to Logan in seven minutes. A second service brings in commuters from the suburbs south of the city.

Whereas ferries were once dismissed by many as too expensive, rising tolls and parking costs have made them a bargain. Converts savor the other benefits: comfortable vessels, snack bars and reclining seats, fresh air and a relaxed atmosphere.

Despite the resurgence, few ferry services manage to make a profit. Golden Gate Bridge District, the largest ferry op-

erator on San Francisco Bay, lost \$2.8 million last year. New York's subsidized Staten Island Ferry, by far the nation's busiest, costs just 25e for a round trip (vs. \$1 for a subway or bus ride) and sails along with a \$26 million annual deficit. Nevertheless, several prospective services are being proposed by entrepreneurs. In San Diego two firms have proposed water-taxi services to shuttle conventioneers and tourists between the city's new waterfront convention center and hotels and restaurants around the bay. In Detroit investors hope to re-establish international ferry service across the Detroit River to Windsor, Ontario. To such visionaries, the possi-

bilities of doing business on water seem limitless. John Westlake, chairman of Direct Line, one of New York's privately owned ferry lines, sums up the potential in terms that appeal to everyone who has suffered through gridlock: "The harbor is like an 80-lane highway that doesn't have anybody on it."

#### American Notes



ALASKA View of the U.S.S.R. across the Bering Strait



ROMANCE Near Charleston, Writer Ripley soaks up some GWTW atmosphere

## The Siberian Connection

ALASKA

During the short-lived defente of the 1970s. Americans could fly from the U.S. to the Soviet Union in just a few hours. The trip was possible only if the plane happened to be taking off from Nome, Alaska, and flying across the Bering Sea to Siberia. Now, in the wake of the Reagan-Gorbachev summits, Alaska Arifines wants to between the two continents that would take only half an hour.

The Nome Chamber of Commerce sees the flights as a boost to tourism. But the most frequent flyers may turn out to be a group of western Alaskan Eskimos who are eager to resume contact with their relatives across the Bering Strait in the Soviet Union.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

#### Slamming the Closet Door

Called Mutual Sharing, Mutual Caring, a sex-education manual for New Hampshire teenagers has too much mutuality for the state's conservative establishment. The booklet discusses topics ranging from reproductive functions to rape, pregnancy and homosexuality. "Gay and les-

bian adolescents are perfectly normal and their sexual attraction to members of the same sex is healthy," says the

Politicians from Governor John Sununu on down have lined up to denounce the manual and block its distribution. Says Strafford County Commissioner Paul Dumont: We let those guys out of the closet ten years ago. I think we should put them back in.' He and his fellow commissioners voted to freeze spending for the county's Prenatal Family Planning Clinic, which paid for the development of the manual during three years of work by community groups, schools and vouth organizations.

PORNOGRAPHY

#### Hanging Up On Porn

Dirty talk isn't cheap, "Dial-aporn" telephone services have ecome a huge \$2.4 billion industry. After listening to complaints about easy access to sexually explicit telephone messages, the Federal Communications Commission last week fined two Californiabased companies \$600,000 each for transmitting obscene material across state lines. Like many other dial-a-porn lines, the companies did nothing to keep minors from using the services

Earlier, the House of Rep-

resentatives sent an even sharper message by approving an outright ban on dial-a-porn lines in an amendment to the \$8.3 billion education bill. The measure would simply outlaw any "obscene" telephone services. Although some legislators expressed doubt about the bill's constitutionality California Republican William Dannemeyer, a co-sponsor of the amendment, declared. "People want it banned. Let the Supreme Court rule on constitutionality.'

EVANGELISM

#### Praise the Lord, Pay IRS

What do an \$800 Gucci briefcase, cosmetic surgery and a water slide have to do with spreading the Gospel? Nothing, the Internal Revenue Service ruled in effect last week as it revoked the tax-exempt status of PTL, the television ministry that supported the high living of Jim and Tammy Bakker. The IRS declared that PTL's business activities, including an amusement park, shopping malls and hotels as well as excessive payments to the Bakkers, served no minis-

terial purpose. If the IRS has its way, donations to PTL, which ran as high as \$45 million in 1984, will no longer be tax deductible for the givers. That could make it impossible for the bankrupt organization to

raise funds to pay off some 572 million that is owed to creditors. Beyond that, the IRS had earlier claimed that PTL owed \$55 million in back taxes. Can PTL survive? Said U.S. Bankruptcy Judge Rufus Reynolds: "There's no chance whatsoever."

ROMANCE

#### GWTW: the Sequel

As the readers of more than 25 million copies well know, Gone With the Wind ends with Scarlett O'Hara dreaming of Tara, cowing to win back the affections of Rhett Butler. What happened next? For those who give a damn, Novelist Alexandra Braid Ripley of Charleston, S.C., will soon provide an answer.

GWTW Author Margaret Mitchell, who died in 1949, always refused to extend her story. But Mitchell's heirs were concerned because the book's copyright was due to expire in 2011, leaving the story unprotected. Thus they reluctantly agreed to let Ripley, whose own "big, fat, serious historicals" (Charleston, New Orleans Legacy) have fared well on the moonlight-and-magnolia circuit, write a sequel. Last week, with two chapters of the new GWTW written, major publishers kicked off a brisk bidding war. The hardcover rights could fetch as much as \$6 million.

#### World



MIDDLE EAS

## **Assignment: Murder**

#### How Israel planned the killing of Arafat's right-hand man

he bedlam began at Al Moasat Hospital in Damascus, where Khalil al-Wazir, the slain military commander of the Palestine Liberation Organization, lay in state. As the burial hour approached, the casket, draped with a Palestinian flag, was lifted onto a caisson wreathed in flowers and towed away by a truck with a Palestinian youth atop, brandishing al-Wazir's picture and flashing the victory sign. At the Yarmouk refugee camp, crowds of keening Palestinians surrounded the funeral cortege of Mercedes, jeeps and taxis. Suddenly the casket, bobbing precariously, was hoisted onto mourners' shoulders and carried amid a sea of people to the Cemetery of Martyrs, about a mile away. There the casket was lowered into a grave, as redbereted Palestinian soldiers fired their guns into the air and the crowd shouted.

'We will avenge your blood, our martyr!'

Officially, Israel continued to deny a role in the slaying of al-Wazir, known worldwide by his nom de guerre Abu Jihad. But that claim was undermined last week by high-level leaks in Israel and Tunisia. According to details pieced together by TIME, the assassination of al-Wazir had been under consideration for several years. MOSSAD, Israel's intelligence agencv. had begun close surveillance of al-Wazir's comings and goings in Tunisia in 1983. The facts and details of his habits and living arrangements were so readily obtainable that Israeli intelligence experts marveled at how such a masterly military strategist could be so careless "Of all people, he should have known better." said one. Even P.L.O. Chairman Yasser Arafat had urged his deputy to move, warning that security at al-Wazir's cream-colored house in the village of Sidi Bou Said was inadequate. But al-Wazir was reluctant, partly because he had just renewed a three-month lease.

The possibility of assissmining alwair was raised with the heads of the Israeli intelligence services during the administrations of both Prime services from the real management of the Prime services of the services of the prime services of the services of the

The topic arose again when P.I.O. hit squads directed by al-Wazir began to arrive from Lebanon and Egypt to fuel the current uprising in the occupied territories. Israeli officials blamed al-Wazir for the March 7 hijacking of a bus in southern Israel that left three Israeli civilians dead.

The possibility of assassinating ality was raised with the heads of the Isi intelligence services during the adistrations of both Prime Minister it is likely that Peres voiced doubts about their that month the Prime Ministers' club gave a green light to all security sertives for preparing an operation, although it is likely that Peres voiced doubts about the timing.

Responsibilities for landing a commando unit on the Tunisian coast and carrying out the assassination were carefully divided between MOSSAD and the Israeli Defense Forces. By late March the operation was ready, but word that the time was right did not come from Tunis until early April. The Israeli navy provided transport across the Mediterranean in a large vessel, then carried the team of 20 commandos ashore in rubber dinghies some 20 miles north of Sidi Bou Said. The commandos loaded into a Peugeot 305 and two Volkswagen vans and were delivered by MOSSAD agents to al-Wazir's doorstep. Other agents sabotaged the telephone switch box in the neighborhood.

During the attack, air force personnel,



After the hit: the chairman mourns with Khalil al-Wazir's widow and daughter



flying a Boeing 707 fitted with electronic jamming devices, hovered about 100 miles outside Tunisian airspace, close enough to jam communications in the area. The Boeing 707 also served as a relay station between Israeli personnel off the Tunisian coast, the hit squad and I.D.F. headquarters in Tel Aviv. Throughout the operation, the commanding general, Ehud Barak, 47, the army's Deputy Chief of Staff, stayed aboard the vessel in the Mediterranean. Barak had participated in a similar operation in April 1973, when Israeli commandos raided Palestinian headquarters in Beirut, killing three P.L.O. leaders

The operation came off precisely as planned. At 1:15 a.m., while a dozen commandos stood watch outside, eight others stormed the house through the front door and raced to the second landing. Al-Wazir. hearing the commotion from his study, grabbed a pistol and headed for the top of the stairs. More than 60 bullets tore into him. Along the way, the gunmen killed the gardener and two guards but, as instructed, did not harm al-Wazir's family. By 4 a.m. they had returned to their ship. A few days later, they landed safely in Haifa harbor. An ironic footnote: al-Wazir had plotted a similar operation in 1985 that aimed to land a hit squad on Israeli soil, sailing first by boat from Algeria, then from mid-sea by dinghy. Israeli missile boats intercepted the ship, aborting the plan.

The Israeli commandos boarded their ship about four days before the April 16 attack, but Israel's ten-member inner Cabinet was not informed of the final plan until just hours before it was carried out. The Cabinet had approved preparations for the mission shortly after the Prime Ministers' Club had decided on the plan. At the time, the only reservations were sounded by Peres and Minister Without Portfolio Ezer Weizmann, who voiced strong objections. Now, with al-Wazir's assassination only hours away. eight Cabinet members again endorsed the plan and the same two holdouts renewed their objections. Last week, as doubts continued about the wisdom of the operation, Peres maintained a discreet silence, but Weizmann spoke out against the attack. "It doesn't contribute to the fight against terrorism," he told Israel Radio. "It distances the peace process and will bring greater hostility and makes us more vulnerable around the world."

Some Israelis echoed Weizmann's concerns. They feared that the attack might backfire, unleashing a vengeful and more virulent wave of violence in the territories, strengthening extremist forces within the P.L.O. and weakening the already thin prospects for a U.S.-sponsored regional peace plan. "Abu after Abu can be liquidated," warned Knesset Member Yossi Sarid. "But this will not liquidate the Palestinian problem.

Other Israelis found no room for doubt. "Anyone directing terrorism is a proper target for elimination," said Major General Amnon Shahak, the I.D.F.'s head of intelligence. Some Israelis predicted that the attack would boost morale throughout the country, and especially within an army frustrated by its inability to put down the uprising and polish Israel's international image as a formidable foe. They suggested that by robbing the P.L.O. of the man responsible for military operations against Israel, the operation had delivered the Palestinians a crippling blow that would demoralize their spirits and deflate the uprising

Fearing that last week's funeral would ignite further unrest, the Israeli army sealed off large parts of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The army also imposed curfews on 21 refugee camps, towns and cities, putting close to 300,000 Palestinians under virtual house arrest. In addition, eight more Palestinians were deported to Lebanon, bringing to 20 the number expelled since the intifadeh (uprising) began last

#### World

December. Despite the precautions, which included banning most reporters from the territories, clashes between soldiers and Palestinians resulted in five Arab deaths, raising the four-month toll to at least 170

"We have nothing for the Israelis except stones and Molotov cocktails and feeding our babies with the milk of hatred for them," said Fatima, 60, mother of one of the Palestinians deported last week. Several Palestinians offered predictions confirming Israel's worst fears. "Al-Wazir's killing will no doubt weaken the moderate voices and take Arafat to extremist positions," warned a doctor in Gaza. A Palestinian lawyer offered a prognosis that the Israelis may find even more distressing, "The killing of Abu Jihad," he said, "may achieve Palestinian unity."

While that seems a distant prospect, al-Wazir's funeral did have the momentary effect of unifying the fractured Palestinian community in mourning. Almost every faction was represented at the burial, and the graveside frenzy was dignified by the presence of such Palestinian leaders as Farouk Kadoumi, Navef Hawatmey and George Habash. But the turnout could not mask the absence of one man: Arafat. As his closest friend was being lowered into the ground, Arafat was in Libya talking to Muammar Gaddafi.

Initially, the P.I.O. had requested that



A young Jewish girl visits the grave of a relative on Memorial Day The struggle against Palestinians continues as Israel turns 40.

al-Wazir be buried in Jordan at a site | within view of the West Bank. King Hussein had consented, although Jordanian officials were concerned that the burial might spark demonstrations of support for the uprising from the two-thirds of the Jordanian population that is Palestinian. Then word came that al-Wazir would be interred in Syria, and Damascus invited all P.L.O. leaders to attend the funeral.

The official explanation for Syria's gesture was that al-Wazir's parents, who live in Damascus, had asked that he be buried near them. But given a bitter five-

year rift between Syria and the P.L.O., Arab analysts concluded that Syrian President Hafez Assad is looking to end a feud that led to Arafat's expulsion from Syria in 1983. Hani al-Hassan, Arafat's chief political adviser, called Syria's cooperation a "good gesture" but apparently not good enough. Although Algeria attempted to broker a reconciliation between Arafat and Syrian leaders, the P.L.O. chairman ultimately opted to stay away. "Arafat hasn't gotten a political invitation [from Syria]," Hassan explained. "A visit should be political

As the Palestinians ended their three days of mourning for al-Wazir, the Israelis began a day of festivities to commemorate the 40th anniversary of statehood. Reaching beyond the usual Independence Day appeals for region-

al peace, officials urged the Palestinians to call off their revolt. Said President Chaim Herzog in a speech broadcast by the Arab service of Israel Radio and Television: "Many Palestinians know in their hearts that the violent intifadeh is a dead-end, useless struggle." That may be true, but it is also wishful thinking for the Israeli government to believe the intifadeh will die with al-Wazir. Commando operations may rob Palestinians of their leaders, but they will not buy peace for Israel -Ry IIII Smolowe Reported by Sam Allis/Damascus and Ron Ben-Yishai/Jerusalem

## "A Recipe for Disaster"

On the 35th anniversary of his accession to the throne. Jordan's King Hussein, 52, spoke with TIME Cairo Bureau Chief Dean Fischer and Senior Correspondent Murray J. Gart about the turmoil engulfing the Middle East:

On the Palestinian uprising. I don't believe it was something planned or organized outside the territories. It was an uprising of the people-the elderly, the young, the women. And it continues

On its consequences. If no action is taken to resolve the Palestinian problem, by the turn of the century the Arab population in Palestine will be almost equal to the Jewish population. But the Arab population will be full of bitterness as a result of unjust treatment and denial of their rights. This is a recipe for disaster

On Soviet policy. We find the Soviet attitude concerned, interested and constructive. We are hopeful of a visit by the Soviet Foreign Minister, but we don't know when it will take place.

On Arab unity. The Arab position is much more clear than it has ever been. What we

are talking about now is an international conference of all the parties to the conflict. An invitation will go to the P.L.O. as the representative of the people of Palestine. Jordan will attend as a sovereign state. We are ready to attend in a joint delegation with Palestinians.

On the Iran-Iraq war. The war remains a threat not only to those two countries but to the entire gulf region. Beyond that, it has threatened a sacred element in Muslim life, the pilgrimage to Mecca. Last year 400 people died in clashes. The statements of leaders in Iran suggest that this could be repeated this year.

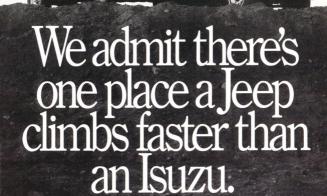
On Khalil al-Wazir's death. He was a man of moral integrity, a man of his word. He commanded a lot of respect and affection among those who followed him. I think his loss will be felt within the P.L.O. But I believe the uprising

will continue



On Israel's role. I have a feeling that the trend in Israel now is toward greater extremism because they fear that Israeli Palestinians and Palestinians in the occupied territories are getting together. I hope this will change to a clearer vision of what is at stake and what needs to be done. Without jeopardizing their rights, we could be on the verge of giving them the kind of life and the kind of peace that they have never imagined.





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THE GULF

### **Tangling with Tehran**

In its most serious strike yet, the U.S. hits Iranian ships and oil platforms in a daylong naval action

he warning issued by U.S. Navy Captain James Chandler could hardly have been plainer. If the Iranian patrol boat Joshan approached any closer to the U.S. guided-missile cruiser Wainwright, Chandler warned the Iranian craft by radio, "it is my intention to sink you." The Joshan's reply came quickly in the form of a deadly antiship missile. Chandler immediately ordered his crew to fire a hail of aluminum chaff into the air, which deflected the missile by confusing its radar guidance system. Moments later a second ship in the U.S. gulf convoy, the frigate Simpson, unleashed an SM-1 missile. It scored a direct hit, sinking the Joshan, killing 15 Iranian crewmen and wounding 29.

The Simpson's quick kill was the first in a daylong series of naval clashes last week between the U.S. and Iran, the most serious military action taken since the American buildup began in the Persian Gulf last July. The action came during a week in which Iran also suffered a major military setback in its 71/2-year war of attrition with Iraq: Iranian troops were driven from the strategic Fao Peninsula by a concerted Iraqi offensive. Meanwhile a third drama involving the gulf, the 15-day hijacking of a Kuwaiti jetliner by suspected pro-Iranian Islamic extremists, ended anticlimactically in Algeria with the release of 31 hostages and the escape of their captors

The U.S. strike was in retaliation for

damage suffered two weeks ago by the American frigate Samuel B. Roberts after it hit an Iranian mine in international waters. Ten American crewmen were injured in the explosion and fire, the worst casualty toll since the accidental Iraqi attack about a year ago on the U.S.S. Stark that claimed 37 lives.

The decision to retaliate was made by President Reagan after U.S. weapons experts established that the mines were of Iranian origin. In a series of conferences over the weekend, the President's top military advisers, including Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci, National Security Adviser Colin Powell and Admiral William Crowe, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, presented a series of options. Reagan eventually selected a "light" form of retaliation, according to Crowe. It included the targeting for destruction of two oil platforms, the Sassan and the Sirri, that served as bases for Iranian intelligence monitoring in the gulf, and the sinking of one Iranian naval vessel. "We concentrated on targets that are at sea," Crowe said later. "We're stronger at sea.

Reagan then summoned congressional leaders of both parties to the White House at 9 p.m. Sunday. He stressed that he was consulting the lawmakers before giving the final military orders, which was in contrast to his secrecy in ordering the U.S. strike against Libya in 1986. He heard no objections. At 10:05, after the



Up in smoke: Iran's fire-fighting tugboats spray

congressional leaders had left, the President said to his aides, "Let's do it."

Three hours later, at midmorning in the gulf, two three-ship naval convoys approached the platforms, 100 miles apart in the southern gulf, and warned their Iranian occupants to evacuate. The Sassan was fired on and then destroyed by U.S. Marines, who helicoptered to the platform and planted explosive charges. The Sirri was bombarded by the guns of the friendes Stimon and Bauler.

The sinking of the Joshan followed





water on the flaming Sirri oil installation following attack by U.S. frigates Simpson and Bagley

within minutes. Then the action shifted | farther north, near the Strait of Hormuz. There, repeated hostile actions by Iran forced the U.S. to jettison its plan to limit Iranian ship losses to a single vessel. When two Iranian frigates, the Sahand and the Sabalan, fired on American reconnaissance aircraft, U.S. warships went after them. A Harpoon missile launched by the U.S. destroyer Joseph Strauss hit the Sahand. The missile, delivered from a distance of 20 miles, blew a hole in the Iranian vessel's hull. An F-14 Tomcat from the aircraft carrier U.S.S. Enterprise in the Strait of Hormuz delivered a laserguided cluster bomb that disabled the Sabalan. Even though the Sabalan was the ship that had been targeted to be sunk by the Navy because of its frequent attacks on merchant ships in the gulf, Carlucci and Crowe ordered naval commanders not to sink the stricken vessel, hoping to limit Iranian casualties. The U.S. also damaged or destroyed three Iranian speedboats, bringing to six the total number of vessels lost by Iran.

The U.S. was not able to end the day of skirmishes without suffering apparent casualties of its own. A Cobra helicopter carrying two crewmen failed to return to the Walmwright after a reconnaissance mission. Iran claimed that it had shot down the gunship. After a fruitless search for the missing chopper, the Navy listed the two crewmen as missing.

Iran's setback in the gulf was serious enough, but the loss of the Fao was devastating. The peninsula, gateway to the Shatt al-Arab waterway and the southeastern port city of Basra, had been captured by Iranian forces in 1986. In a surprise offensive code-named Blessed Ramadan, after the Islamic holy month that began last week, President Saddam Hussein ordered the Iraqi Seventh Army, supported by elite Presidential Guards, to attack the peninsula's Iranian defenders. Early last week, following a successful 36hour armored blitzkrieg, the Iraqi victory was complete.

Iran's growing unpredictability has prompted U.S. military planners to begin changing American rules of engagement



Iraqi soldier celebrates victory in Fac

in the gulf. Administration officials suggested that a "cooperative approach," using help from U.S. allies, will be employed with greater frequency in the future. The goal is to put Iran on notice that the U.S. Navy could come to the aid not just of U.S.-flagged vessels in the gulf, as is currently the case, but also of those registered to other nations.

The beginning of the end of the Kuwaiti hijacking came shortly before 4 a.m. last Wednesday with a totally unexpected message from the Boeing 747. "We declare to the Muslim people and to all people who seek freedom," said a voice over the cockpit radio, "that today, the third day of Ramadan, we will end the Kuwaiti airplane operation."

That operation had been the longest continuous skyjacking in history, a terrorfilled 15-day epic that began with the capture of the plane as it neared the gulf and continued during stops at the Iranian city of Mashhad and the Cypriot city of Larnaca before reaching a seven-day standoff in Algiers. For many of the 31 hostages inside the aircraft, the tipoff to approaching freedom came when the hijackers began systematically wiping overhead compartments and doorways to erase their fingerprints. Then, following a plan apparently worked out in advance with Algerian negotiators, they quietly left the aircraft and vanished into the North African night. There were reports that the hijackers were flown to Beirut or Syria, but Algerian authorities refused to confirm or deny them.

Despite their ordeal, all the hostages were found to be sufficiently fit to travel home to Kuwait to have been been found to the sufficient of the captives was a vindeation of their country's principled refusal to accode to the pro-Iranian terrorists convicted of taking part in attacks on the U.S. and French embassies in Kuwait in 1983. But the hijascher's afe passage out of Algeria not only prevents them from being brought to just a proposed to the proposed

The hijackers, perhaps the most professional team of air pirates yet encountered, took elaborate precautions against revealing their identities. Yet Washington, citing accounts from released hostages, says one of the gunmen is Hassan Izz-al-Din, a Lebanese who is believed to have been directly involved in the killing of U.S. Navy Diver Robert Stethem during the hijacking of TWA Flight 847 in 1985. Said Secretary of State George Shultz, speaking in Helsinki en route to pre-summit meetings in Moscow: "I don't think freleasing the hijackersl is a proper thing to do." But he declined to "secondguess" Algeria. As for the Algerians, Interior Minister Hadi al-Khaderi, who oversaw the negotiations, explained his government's decision in its starkest terms: "It was a question of saving human By William R. Doerner

Reported by Dean Fischer/Bahrain and David S. Jackson/Algiers

#### World

SOVIET UNION

#### **Clash of the Comrades**

Gorbachev tangles subtly with reform's chief critic

The signs of a struggle within the Kremlin seemed unmistakble. For more than six months, thinly veiled attacks on Soviet Leader Mikhail Gorbachev's policies had been growing bolder. No one outside the ruling Polithuro, however, could know for certain the strength of the General Secretary's opponents in of the General Secretary's opponents for prestroike—Gorbachev's term for the radical economic restructuring he is

trying to carry out. Was Gorbachevs authority being seriously challenged? Or did the criticisim exchanged in coded speeches and press articles amount to no more than a difference in emphasis between officials pursuing the same broad policy objectives? There were indications last week that the Soviet leadership had been engaged in the most significant internal political struggle since Gorbachev came to power

three years ago.

The apparent loser was Yegor Ligachev, 67, the blunt second-ranking member of the Politburo. According to Western diplomats and Soviet sources in Moscow, the setback for the party's No. 2 figure came at a heated session of the Politburo last week to calm the increasingly public dispute over the limits of reform. Ligachev embodied the critical backlash against the new openness. which has brought freer discussion of abuses in Soviet society today and the brutal repression of the Stalin era. As the party's ideological watchdog, Ligachev strongly believed that this re-

laxation was becoming a dangerous weapon in the hands of anti-Soviet forces, as well as a destabilizing force within the country.

Gorbachev was clearly irritated when, just as he was leaving for a state visit to Yugoslavia last month, the newspaper Sovetskava Rossiva carried a sharp attack on glasnost. According to persistent but unconfirmed reports, he concluded that Ligachev was behind the attack and reacted by stripping him of some of his powers over the Soviet press and television. Those powers were reportedly shifted to one of the Soviet leader's strongest backers in the Politburo. Alexander Yakovlev, 64. However, the Soviet leadership showed no sign of strain at the end of last week when Ligachev appeared with Gorbachev and other Politburo members in the Kremlin Palace for the traditional ceremony marking Le-

The signs of a struggle within the kremlin seemed unmistakable. For more than six months, thinly veiled at-

Despite the public show of unity, even Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze acknowledged at a press conference that Kremlin views sometimes vary widely. He then added, "There are no signs indicating that between the General Secretary and Mr. Ligachev there are any differences."

Such good friends: the party leader with Ligachev earlier this year "The decisive struggle for the success of perestroika has begun."

Gorbachev was moving to consolidate support before a crucial Communist Party conference that is to be held in two months. TASS reported last week that he had met party leaders from the Soviet Union's 15 republics over the previous two weeks. He was trying to sell unsettling political reforms such as fixed terms of office for party leaders and competitive elections for party posts. At the same time, Gorbachev was reportedly ready to shake up the Communist leadership at a Central Committee plenum meeting scheduled to take place before the party conference. With Ligachev weakened, Gorbachev was in a better position to place his own reformist followers in key party positions

By moving on Ligachev, Gorbachev seemed to be strengthening his credentials as the evenhanded middleman in the argument over reform. Six months ago, he deposed the foremost proponent of a faster pace, Borts Yellsin, one of his closest allies. After Yeltsin complianted loudby at a meeting of the Central Committee that political changes were moving too suggishly, Gorbachev had him remote from both the Politiburo and his job as head of the Moscow party organization. Significantly, with glenors under fire sevented to be resurrising. In an interview seemed to be resurrising. In an interview in the German edition of Moscow Nows, aid he regretted nothing and was still working for the party.

Gorbachev has good reason to protect his flanks as the June 28 party conference

approaches. Perestroika has drawn criticism ever since he announced it in the spring of 1985. Earlier this year, overt opposition intensified as the economic reforms began to be implemented and his principle of khozraschet, or cost accounting, started affecting an estimated 60% of Soviet industry. Many government bureaucrats have seen a threat to their extra privileges-special housing, schools and food stores. Automatic bonuses for workers were threatened, which prompted protest strikes. Nationalist outbursts in the Baltic states, protest demonstrations by Crimean Tatars in Moscow and riots in Azerbaijan appeared to encourage those who blamed glasnost for the sudden wave of unrest.

What apparently spurred gasheve into open criticism was the unprecedented accounts in the Soviet press of the excesses of the Stalin era, which had been largely hidden from the public for decades. Although Gorbachev encouraged this examination of the past, Li-

this examination of the past, Ligachev chastised editors for going too far with Stalin exposés, accusing them of a "disrespectful attitude

toward those generations that built socialism." In a February speech to party leaders, he again complained of people who "Ity to present our history as a chain of mistakes and crimes and to gloss over great achievements of the past and pregreat achievements of the past and present." Added Ligachev. "All this is being done under the banner of glasnoss—a shameful occupation."
When the newspaner Sometskawa Ros-

When the newspaper Sovetskaya Rassiya published a letter six weeks ago defending Stalin's rule and suggesting that glasnost was leading to "ideological mishmash," suspicion immediately fell on Ligachev as the instigator, if not the author. (The letter was ostensibly written by a Leningrad chemistry teacher.)

For two weeks the provocative letter remained unanswered. Then, on April 5, Pravda blasted back in a full-page editorial that reverberated throughout the coun-

try. The broadside denounced Sovetskava Rossiya for printing a "manifesto for antiperestroika forces" and accused reform opponents of "old thinking." Western diplomats and Soviet sources said the editorial bore the style and rhetoric of Politburo Member Yakovlev, who is credited with being the architect of glasnost. Recognizing that it was outgunned, Sovetskava Rossiva reprinted the Pravda editorial in full the next day

Whatever differences Gorbachev had with his second-in-command, this was not the kind of brutal, all-out power struggle that had rocked the Kremlin under previous leaders. Those who know Ligachev agree that he is not hungrily scheming to

replace Gorbachev

During his long career as a party functionary, Ligachev has earned a reputation as an efficient, incorruptible manager. After a four-year stint in Moscow as a deputy director of the propaganda and party organs for the Russian Republic, he spent the Brezhnev years as local party boss in the Siberian city of Tomsk. Brought back to Moscow by then Party Leader Yuri Andropov in 1983, Ligachev was named to Gorbachev's Politburo two years later. All along, Ligachev has insisted he does not oppose perestroika. In an extraordinary interview with the Paris daily Le Monde in December he said, "I know what you write about me. I beg you to understand that there is no difference between [Gorbachev and mel: we are on the same wavelength." Observed a Western diplomat in Moscow last week: "It is quite possible to be for economic restructuring but have reservations about democratization and glasnost, especially within the party. Ligachev sees himself as guardian of the concerns of party officials."

Despite the apparent shunting aside of Ligachev, few Soviet experts believe that a fundamental or

> far-reaching power struggle is under way.



Peter Danylow, an analyst of East-West affairs in Bonn, argues that a basic policy consensus must exist. The reason: it would otherwise be hard to imagine the Soviet leadership approving the agreement to withdraw forces from Afghanistan

Gorbachev recognizes the difference between resistance to his policies and outright opposition Earlier this month the Soviet leader acknowledged that perestroika "has simply frightened people; quite a few have lost their bearings." Even so, he went on, he was not about to back off: "We have every reason to say that the decisive struggle for the success of perestroika has begun." And it will go on with a team more precisely tailored to the boss's -By Frederick Painton. wishes Reported by Ken Olsen/Moscow, with other



Those who will protect the Soviet withdrawal: Afghan soldiers on a hill above the capital

#### **Looking Toward the Final Days**

Kabul comes down with a case of the pre-pullout jitters

A Soviet I1-76 cargo plane lifted slowly into the bright morning air over Kabul International Airport last week. As it did, a string of incandescent flares dropped from the aircraft, a necessary defense against Stinger missiles, the U.S.-made, heat-seeking, antiaircraft weapons used by the mujahedin, Afghanistan's resistance. On the airport perimeter, sunburned Soviet soldiers stood around a formidable new stone-and-cement guard post topped by a hammerand-sickle flag. Their thoughts were turning toward withdrawal from their flinty outpost. "Who wouldn't like to go home?" asked Victor Avershin, a blond, 19-yearold private. "Everybody wants to go

Two weeks ago, in Geneva, Moscow promised to fulfill that wish: starting next month the Soviets will begin to withdraw their 115,000-man contingent from Afghanistan. But it will be a tense nine months before the pullout is complete. Under the terms of the Geneva accords signed by the U.S., the Soviet Union, Pakistan and Afghanistan, there is no cease-fire or promise of safe passage for Moscow's exiting forces. The mujahedin have refused to give any quarter to the Soviets, whose eight-year occupation has left more than I million Afghans dead.

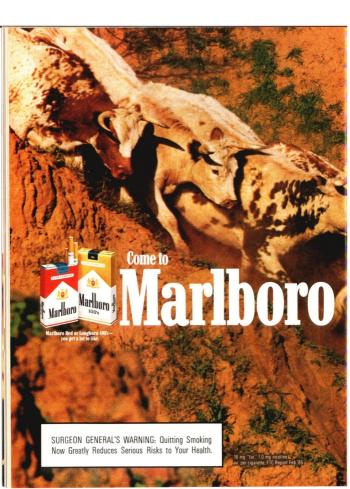
To cover its retreat. Moscow is banking on the tenacity of Najibullah, the Afghan Communist leader installed by the Soviets in 1986, and his ragtag 150,000member security force. Najibullah, the former chief of KHAD, the Afghan secret police, is trying to win over the mujahedin by promoting capitalism and elections and by playing up his adherence to the Muslim faith. His efforts have not impressed the rebels, but he evidently hopes to gain credibility in Western eyes.

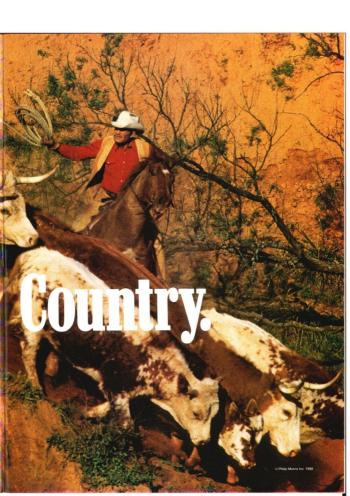
Last week a delegation from the

Washington-based International Center for Development Policy, a left-of-center think tank, paid a private visit to the ravaged country. Robert E. White, a former U.S. Ambassador to El Salvador, headed the tour. Over the span of a week, the group visited Kabul and Mazar-i-Sharif. a surprisingly peaceful city of more than 100,000 people on Afghanistan's border with the Soviet Union. One stop on the I.C.D.P. tour was a large, blue-tiled mosque, where about 1,500 men listened as a stooped, aged mullah read from the Koran. When several worshipers turned and glared at the intruders, however, the Afghan officials hustled the group out the door. The episode offered a possible indication of religious freedom, but not of any warmth toward the government.

The business community was more friendly, in the person of Rasul Barat, 31, a dapper entrepreneur who boasted, "Half of Mazar-i-Sharif is mine." Barat welcomed his guests with a poolside barbecue complete with lamb kabob and imported German beer. Elected a short time ago to the Afghan legislature. Barat claimed that Afghanistan's taxes were so low he had recently been able to import three autos, from Mercedes, Mitsubishi and Ford.

By contrast with Mazar-i-Sharif, Kabul seemed caught in tightening coils of fear and tension. Checkpoints and roadblocks were numerous: mujahedin leaders claim that they have already infiltrated commandos into the city. Ambassador White, for one, was not impressed by what he saw. He likened Najibullah's situation to that of Nicaraguan Dictator Anastasio Somoza Debayle in 1979, shortly before the ruler was overthrown. Said White: "Some Soviets have come up to me and said privately, 'I agree with your Somoza By Edward W. Desmond. Reported by Ross H. Munro/Kabul









Pulled by a bullock, a cart crosses the river into Pantasma, a town at the heart of the Sandinista-*contra* fighting. Above, Alejandra Mirano prepares food in her restaurant

#### World

NICARAGUA

#### A Town That Peace Forgot

In a long-besieged village, the residents remain skeptical

The menu at Alejandra Mirano's restaurant on the dusty main street of Pantasma is as sparse as the surroundings. Brown beans, rice and corn tortillas are the staples, served sometimes with eggs from the hens that cluck about the bare concrete floor. The ancient refrigerator no longer works, so the syrupy sodas are served at room temperature, an opperature, and opp

If the food and ambience at Mirano's restaurant are spartan, they mirror life in Pantasma, a garrison and farming town in Nicaragua's Jinotega province that has been as close to the center of the brutal six-year war as any other town in the country. Pantasma's 4.000 inhabitants should be happy: after signing a 60-day cease-fire last month, Sandinista and contra leaders met in Managua last week to negotiate details of the final accord. The talks bogged down on both technical and substantive issues, but the two sides predicted that progress would be made when they meet again this week. Nonetheless, Pantasma seems more weighed down by its bloody past than it is buoyed by any belief that the battles may finally be over. "The people have no confidence in either the government or the contras. They have been oppressed by both," says Padre Victor Mendoza, the town's Roman Catholic priest, "They hope, but they don't really dare to believe in an end to the war. 'This is a town of widows," says

Mirano, 31, a mother of five who lost her husband three years ago. Marlene Jarquin, 28, nods in agreement; she regularly visits the little cemetery by the river where her husband and 36 others, all victims of a contra attack in 1983, are interred in a mass grave. "Life is hard for us," Jarquin says. "It is difficult to believe in peace until it happens."

Such skepticism is understandable in Pantasma. The golden patchwork of maize and tobacco fields that spreads outward across the valley is halted halfway up the surrounding mountains by a wayy line of thick rain forest. It is ideal guerrilla cover, and the contras have used it to put Pantasma under a siege that has lifted only as the truce has taken hold, and then just partly. A dusk-to-dawn curfew continues, and government troops still pattrol than a mountain roads leading into Pantasma.

While peace means different things to different people, no one in Pantasma seems to feel that the conflict should continue until victory is claimed by either side. "We want peace because we want to be free," says Omar Cruz, a farmer. "In a war, no one is free."

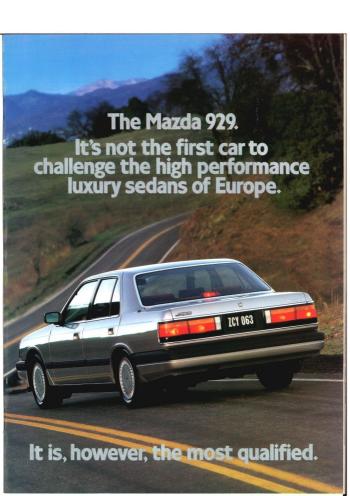
The truth of that observation is apparent to Noel Rodriguez Sanchez, 19, a conscript in the Sandinista army who has spent nearly two years based in and around Pantasma. During that time, he says, he has been involved in more than 50 skirmishes or battles with the contras and seen more than a dozen friends die. "In Managua they don't know what the real war is like," he says, "It is tough and it is dirty, and people get killed every day." As Rodriguez sits in the shade of a store's veranda, his AK-47 gripped between his knees, he is counting the days until his demobilization. "Just a few more now," he grins, "and then I'll be going home. I don't want ever to fight again.

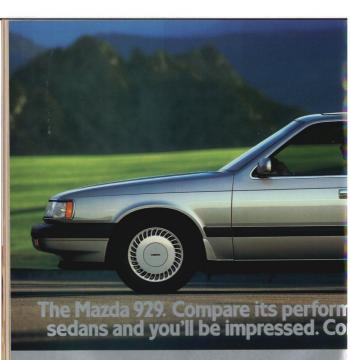
While the conflict is only one factor in Nicaragua's economic decline in recent years, an end to the fighting would probably result in an immediate, if small, increase in agricultural production. And for hundreds of thousands of campesinos in contested areas where the gun is king, peace would remove a lot of fear from their lies. "Earment and other long figure of their lies, and the state of the long figure of their lies." Earment and other long figure of their lies. "Earment and other long figure of their lies." Earment and other long figure of their lies of t

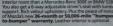
For some, though, an end to the war is only the first of the country's many desperate needs. Though the government reads are considered to the country of the country in the constant of the country of t

Like a growing number of his countrymen, Duarte blames the Sandinistas' prefabricated revolutionary socialism for many of Nicaragua's economic wese. He turns to baseball, a game made popular in Nicaragua by U.S. Marines in the early part of the century, to "oxplain" what in the early part of the century, to "oxplain" what in the when a pitcher is getting hit out of the ball park?" he asks. "You change him and try someone with a fresh arm, don't you?"

Taking refuge behind an analogy and a duble interrogative may seem unnecessarily furtive at a time when the Sandinists and the contras are talking earnestly of ending the bloodshed. But it is a pointed reminder that peace and the broad political consensus needed to sustain it are still no more than dreams for most Nicaraguans. —By John Borrell/Pantasma









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#### **World Notes**







BRITAIN Parliament's mace deserves respect

DISPUTES France claims this cod is French

## Fishing for A Fight

When four French officials and 17 sailors set off two weeks ago into rough Newfoundland seas aboard the trawler Croxix de Lorraine, they hooked some trouble. The crew was arrested for illegally fishing in Canadian waters, and clapped in jail for 60 hours. The crew was arrested for 60 hours. Lowest Canadian for "Consultations," and passport and customs officials delayed Canadian visitors for hours at French airports.

The feuding was over the right to fish for cod in a 33,170sq.-mi. triangle of the Atlantic that includes the Frenchowned islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon off Canada's coast. France claims a 200-mile economic zone for the islands, while Ottawa recognizes only a twelve-mile limit. Last fall the Canadians cut off the islanders' limited fishing rights in the disputed zone after talks on the issue fell apart. Late last week the two sides met to discuss the appointment of a mediator.

SOUTH AFRICA

#### Try a Little Tenderness

In white-ruled South Africa, progress toward racial equality is measured in tiny and often tentative steps. By that standard, State President P.W. Botha made a bold move last week when he outlined a plan for giving the black majority a modest voice in the government. Botha said he favored limited black participation in the Electoral College, which chooses the country's President every five years, and even hinted that blacks might eventually be appointed to his Cabinet.

The moves seem aimed at wooing white moderates to the ruling National Party, which has steadily lost voters to the ultraright Conservative Party. Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu dismissed Botha's proposals as "slight adjustments to the evil system" of apartheid.

ITALY

## The Return of Celestine V

The bells of L'Aquila tolled dolorously last week in mourning for a missing Pope. The remains of 13th century Pope St. Celestine V—a nearly intact skelcton with awa face—had been stolen from the city's basilica of Santa Maria di Collemaggio. Celestine occupied St. Peter's chair for twe moths in 1294, and then abdicated—an act Dante alluded to as the "great refusal." He was canonized in 1313.

After a nun discovered Celestine's glass casket was empty, authorities began tailing a couple of strangers who had

driven through town. Within two days police followed the pair to the remains, stashed some 40 miles away. The figure of Celestine, still wearing miter and robes, was found lying on its red velvet cushion but concaled in a plywood box crammed into a burial niche in a local cemetery. The miscremater of the control of the

How Could
One Forget?

Before the verdict was read last week in the Jerusalem courtroom, the defendant complained about a sore back and was carried to an adjacent cell. Thus, after a 14-month trial, John Demjanjuk heard the news by closed-circuit television: a three-judge tribunal ruled that he was Ivan the Terrible, the sadistic guard who helped operate the gas chambers at Treblinka in which 870.000 Jews perished. Like Adolf Eichmann, the only other Nazi war criminal tried in Israel, he could be hanged.

The Ukrainian-born Demjanjuk, 68, a beefy Cleveland autoworker extradited from the U.S. in 1986, insisted that he was a victim of mistaken identity. But the judges determined that he "held a central role in the Treblinka order and carried out his tasks with a great deal of enthusiasm." Originally a soldier in the Soviet army, Denjianjuk apparentje became a guard after being captured by the Nazis. Vivid testimony came from eight Jews who survived the Treblinka horrors. Denjianjuk's lawyers argued that a survivor could not reliably remember events that occurred so long ago. Responded Presiding Judge Dov Levin: "How could one forset?"

#### Loutish Behavior

The evening session in the House of Commons was nearly over when Labor Member Ron Brown did the unforgettableand unforgivable. Frustrated by the government's tax policies and cuts in welfare spending. Brown roared down from his back-bench seat, hurled papers at a minister, then grabbed the 17th century ceremonial mace that rests at the center of the Commons and threw it to the floor. The nearly 5-ft,-long staff, part of the Crown Jewels, is a cherished symbol of Parliament's rule.

When Brown refused to read a formal apology, his colleagues voted to suspend the Scottish M.P. for four weeks and ordered him to pay the \$1,800 cost of repairing the silver-gilt mace. Brown enraged his party's leader, Neil Kinnock, who assailed him for "loutishness."

#### **Economy & Business**

## Perestroika to Pizza

After a long cold spell, U.S.-Soviet ventures are brewing once again

izza Huts in the land of Pushkin? Oreo cookies in Omsk? Big Macs in Belgrade? Yes, all that—and more. Maybe.

American companies have long viewed doing business with the Soviet Union as a dubious proposition, given the stormy politics of the superpower relationship. But under pressraba, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachew's campaign to revitalize his country's economy, the Soviets are trying to attract American know-how to help step up the tempo of development. Encouraged by their overtures, dozens of

U.S. companies—among them Honeywell, Occidental Petroleum and Archer Daniels Midland—are forming joint ventures in the Soviet Union.

Though the prospects for profits are hazy at best, the opportunities are manifold: helping modernize Soviet factories, enhancing agricultural production and marketing consumer goods ranging from toothpaste to tires. "The Soviets now realize they need to attract people," says Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead who closely follows U.S.-Soviet trade. "It would appear the Soviets in the last few months have dramatically changed their attitude.'

The Kremlin's welcome mat came out after

President Reagan's summit conference with ord-televe in Weshington last Deseventh ord-televe in Weshington last Deseventh ord-televe in Weshington last Dearms control, the two logs as promised to 
improve the business relationship between their countries Earlier this month 
Commerce Secretary William Veriy led a 
delegation of Administration officials to 
Moscow, where U.S. and Soviet leaders 
signed an agreement to explore mutual 
opportunities in such industries as food 
processing and construction equipment.

The official warming trend even revived the often sleepy U.S.L.V.S.R. Trade and Economic Council, a group of 315 U.S. companies and 150 Sovie enterprises and ministries, which staged a fourday conference in Moscow in April to talk about prospective joint ventures. In a display of Madison Avenue gittz, council members from the U.S. gave their Soviet counterparts a crash course in marketing that included razzle-dazzle TV commercials for Diet Coke, NutraSweet and the American Express Card. Gorbachev inted the U.S. visitors to the Kremlin's tried the U.S. visitors to the Kremlin's least of caviar, pheasant, grouse and other elicacies. After exchanging tosats with the capitalists, the Soviet leader described persurada as an "invitation" to a business partinership with the West. Said he: the solher of Georomic relations."

dozens of I the sphere of economic relations." Result: the

Verity, left, and Kremlin officials agree to search for profitable opportunities

A seven-course feast and a lesson in razzle-dazzle marketing.

Even so. Gorbachev's ambitious plan to infuse his economy with U.S. commercial vigor will face deep-rooted obstacles. Many Americans believe that helping strengthen the Soviet Union could damage U.S. interests. And because of Western security concerns, many U.S. commercial technologies will remain off limits to ventures with the Soviets. The Parisbased Coordinating Committee on Export Controls, for example, restricts exports of equipment and processes to the East bloc that might be used in military applications. Under COCOM rules, Western firms cannot do business with the Soviet Union in such areas as nuclear energy, high-speed computers and aircraft components. Last week four top executives of a French machine-tool firm were arrested on charges of shipping millions

members from the U.S. gave their Soviet of dollars' worth of sophisticated milling counterparts a crash course in marketing that included razzle-dazzle TV commercials for Diet Coke, NutraSweet and the control of the Color Regulations. Intelligence sources caused to the Color Regulations. Intelligence sources caused to manufacture fiscelages for fighter Palace of Congresses for a seven-course manufacture fiscelages for fighter counterparts of the Color Regulations.

Beyond national security concerns, there are other legal hurdles. Imports of Soviet goods to the U.S. are inhibited by an American law that withholds favorable trading status from certain countries practicing repressive emigration policies. Result: the Soviets have turned to West

Germany, Japan and other industrial partners for investment capital and production expertise. Says Donald Kendall, chairman of the executive committee at PepsiCo, which operates 25 bottling plants in the Soviet Union: "They found that we're not the only fountain of knowledge." Since 1972. Soviet trade with the West has surged from \$7 billion to \$41 billion. But American companies accounted for only \$2 billion of that business last year, and more than half the U.S. trade involved grain sales.

For its part, the Soviet Union moved boldly to expand joint ventures with the West in 1987. For the first time in more than half

a century, Western companies are now permitted to own up to 49% of a Soviet enterprise. Foreign corporations have set up more than 35 such ventures.

Several industrial agreements have been signed since November. In the first of these ventures. Connecticut-based combustine Engineering will provide machinery and software for managing pretrolleum production at refineries. Minisotia Honeywell will equip Soviet fertilizplants with high-tech manufacturing equipment. Occidental Petroleum will build two factories to supply plastics for food packaging, vinyl floors and other ration venture, while Monanto is not gentration venture, while Monanto is not ratio resulture, while Monanto is not perfectly the production of a weed-killing herbicide.

Economic détente with the Soviets

has spawned consumer-oriented ventures as well. For the past two weeks, Muscovites have been lining up to buy slices of the first American pizza in the Soviet Union, for 1.25 rubles (S2.10) each at the AstroPizza truck that makes stops around the city. The 18-ft. mobile pizzeria is operated under a joint venture of New Jersepbased Roma Food Enterprises (1987) seales 3100 million) and the City of

A shopping cartful of other American consumer goods may be on the way. RJR Nabisco is seeking a Soviet partner to make its snacks and cookies, and wants to market its cigarettes as well. Illinois-based Archer Daniels Midland, a longtime exporter of grain to the Soviet Union, hopes to produce vegetable oils, starches and sweeteners with a Soviet partner. The company may also take part in a Soviet plan to increase the annual production of chickens from the current 500 million to 5 billion by the early 1990s. Starting next June, the growing legion of Soviet personal-computer users will be able to catch up on everything from software to peripherals in a new quarterly called PC World USSR. a spin-off of Massachusetts-based IDG

Communications' PC World that will incorporate articles written by Soviet technical journalists.

One reason the Soviets are so enthusiastic about attracting ventures from the West is that they can see the hudding success.

they can see the budding success of such arrangements by their East European neighbors. According to a report released last month by the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe, the number of Western joint ventures in the East bloc has surged from just five in 1981 to 166 last year. Hungary leads the Soviet bloc in joint ventures, with 140 formed since 1972. Western firms are allowed to own the majority share of a venture in Hungary, and sometimes receive generous tax breaks. Yugoslavia, the first East European country to seek joint ventures with the West, has formed 225 since 1967. One of the largest: a \$62 million auto-parts plant co-owned by General Motors. In Belgrade the first McDonald's in Eastern Europe has been drawing more than 2,500 customers daily since it opened its doors last month. Says Pedrag Tostanic, Yugoslav managing director of the joint venture: "At all times I have people lined up outside my door waiting to get in." A highflying East-West business opportunity opened up two weeks ago, when COCOM granted Boeing preliminary approval to sell its jets to Soviet satellite countries

Tet the Soviet Union, with its population of 282 million, represents by far the most tempting future even the stellage in the East block, even the stellage in the East block, the stellage is the stellage in the stellage in the stellage is the stellage in the stellage in the stellage is the stellage in the stellage is

DG shown at the Dallar Apparel Mart in troops

Combustion Engineering's control gear, above, is heading for Soviet refineries, while Iron Curtain couture hits a Dallas runwa

March, But like the clothes, many of the products they want to make are already produced in abundant quantities elsenteed in the produced in abundant quantities elsenteed in the produced in the product of the products and services in the Soviet Union, must cope with the nonconvertibility of Soviet currency. No matter how profitable a Soviet joint venture may be, U.S. companies have little use for rubles.

Some American companies have found ways around the currency problem. PepsiCo, which plans to build two Pizza Hut shops in Moscow later this year, will accept rubles at one outlet and collect foreign currencies at another one, in a fourist neighborhood. Occidental, on the other hand, will export 25% of the plastics produced in its Soviet factories for sale in Western Europe and other markets.

For the US and use under the property of the US and use the property of the US and the property of embarges and broken promises. In the early 1970s, for example, Ford withdrew from participation in the vast Kama River truck plant some 500 miles east of Moscow after the Pentagon argued that the trucks made there might end up carrying Soviet troops. The vehicles later did—In Afghani-

stan. Skepticism still runs deep on both sides. At the marketing meeting in Moscow, a Soviet official expressed a sentiment shared by many of his colleagues. Staring at a picture of an American shopper browsing in a vast supermarket unlike any in the Soviet Union, he whispered to a friend, "I don't believe their stores look like that. They're trying to trick us." U.S. executives planning joint ventures are just as wary of the Soviet Union's new warmth. If the promising economic initiative is to develop, Washington and Moscow must preserve an atmosphere in which the new business partners can concentrate on manufacturing and marketing, rather than politics. -By Janice Castro.

Reported by Ann Blackman/Moscow and Frederick Ungeheuer/New York, with other bureaus



Savoring a slice of American pie from the rolling restaurant near Moscow University





In Belgrade some 2,500 customers a day eat at this McDonald's, the first in Eastern Europe

#### **Economy & Business**



Union members picketing the Manhattan offices of Columbia and Orion studios last week

#### **Bring on the Reruns!**

With its writers on strike, Hollywood is running out of material

The strikers hailed from Hollywood, not Pittsburgh, so they sported sunglasses and peach-colored sweaters instead of hard hats and work boots. But the walkout by the 9,000 members of the Writers Guild of America (W.G.A.), now in its eighth week, is threatening to become as disruptive and gritty as any other industrial deadlock. When representatives for the writers and producers sat down with a federal mediator last week to resume their talks, the meeting broke up after only 20 minutes. Said Herb Steinberg, spokesman for the Alliance of Motion Picture and Television Producers: "The union came in with nothing new. We wondered why they called a meeting." Countered Frank Pierson, writer of Cool Hand Luke and Dog Day Afternoon: "If we accept management's offer, it's the end of the guild as we know it."

The strike is testing the patience of TV viewers. With spring only a month old, summer reruns are already beginning for many prime-times shows as the supply of original programs runs out. The networks have dropped 25 scheduled episodes in all, including the season's last new episodes of LA. Law and The Codys Show. Moonlighting scrapped its special-effects finale, some in the control of the cody show the control of the cody show the cody show the cody show the cody of the cody

Some feature films have been delayed because union members are forbidden even to discuss a rewrite of a script. Richard Fischoff, senior vice president of production for Tri-Star Pictures, says of the strike: "If it lasts through the summer, things will become totally paralyzed."

The central dispute between writers and producers is over syndication residuals for one-hour shows, the payments made to writers each time a network television show appears on an independent

station. Writers now receive a flat fee of \$\$16,000 for the first six syndicated reruns, but producers want to pay them according to a formula that takes into account total income from a show's sale. Writers say that method would significantly cut their average income, though producers deny this would happen.

Like true dramatists, the writers have sidestepped round-the-clock picketing in favor of more theatrical performances. Some 3,000 members picketed Walt Disney studies last month as a plane flew overhead trailing a banner that read \$700 MICKEY MOUSING AROUND WITH OUT. WO, A. Last week they carried plant-size pencils and a banner in front of the Manituse of the Walter of the Walt

barred from the guild for life."
As the strike grows longer, it poses a financial threat to local TV stations and networks. If it continues through the May "sweeps" period, when the fall advertising rates are determined, analysts estimate the three major networks could suffer a particularly life they attract flewer viewers and are forced to offer advertisers compensatory commercial time.

For the networks, the worst nightmare is a delay in the fall season. Brandon Stoddard, president of ABC Entertainment, conceded last week that if the strike lasts into June, fall shows may be delayed until November. The networks can ill afford to give viewers more reason to switch to cable channels and videocassettes. Last week the Nielsen ratings showed that the networks' share of the viewing audience shrank 9% during the past season, 1043.3%. — By Barbar Budoph.

Reported by Elaine Dutka/Los Angeles and Wayne Synhoda/New York

#### **Bouncing Back?**

The thrifts may be on the mend

f businesses ranging from steel to com-puters can rebound from sharp slumps, what is wrong with the thrift industry? Instead of hitting bottom and starting back up, an estimated one-third of the 3,200 federally insured thrifts in the U.S. just keep falling deeper into the red. The problem is potentially grave, because the ballooning cost of rescuing the ailing thrifts could strain the Federal Government's insurance fund. Last week officials at the Federal Savings and Loan Insurance Corporation, which guarantees deposits up to \$100,000 and handles troubled thrifts, estimated that the deficit in its fund reached \$11.6 billion last year, nearly double its 1986 level of \$6.3 billion.

Still, M. Danny Wall, chairman of the Federal Home Loan Bank Board, which oversees FSLIC, believes that the thrift spiral is finally ending. His list of the worstoff thrifts has stabilized at 204. Moreover, Sand Ls in general are starting to soak up much needed deposits again. During the first two months of this year, further abpared with an outflow of \$3.2 billion duriing that period last year.

Wall estimates that for now FSLIC has the money it needs for closing and merging insolvent thrifts. Along with \$10.8 billion in new borrowing authority approved by Congress last year, FSLIC will have premiums and other sources to bring its rescue resources to \$2.0 billion through 1991. That is only somewhat less than its liabilities for all \$10 of the US. thrifts that are considered insolvent under strict ac-

FSLIC is steadily whittling away at the problem cases. Since last August it has closed 13 thrifts and merged 28 others into healthy institutions.

Last week regulators began negotiating the sale of one of their most unwieldy cases, California's American Savings & Loan Association, the nation's second largest thrift (assets: \$33 billion).

Many savings and loan executives and analysts believe the thrift industry needs an even more aggressive cleanup.

Chairman Wall

But Wall contends that the problems are contained mostly in one region. Says he: "Aside from Texas and the other oilpatch states, there is no question that we are well past the trough." In fact, more than 100 of the 280 or so thrifts in Texas are technically insolvent but still lurching along in business. YstiC will have to clean up that guide of insolventury as soon asyon, the thrift industry as a whole.

#### **They Make Good Things for Flying**

GE's turbofans have become the most popular engines in the sky

For all its industrial might, General Electric was treated like a pip-aqueak when it first entered the macho business of building commercial-jet engines. Two decades ago, when a GE representative decades ago, when a GE representative Nyrop, then president of Northwest Airlines, the executive pointed to a ceiling fixture and wiscarciacked. "Whenever I want a light bulb, I'll pick GEs. For jet engines, II'll sick with Pratt & Whitney!" Nearly all jet airliners built at that time, a shorter-hall McDornell Dungles DC-9, were powered by engines carrying Pratt & Whitney's eagle engines.

rently a popular engine for jumbo jets, was derived from a design initially developed in the late 1960s for the Air Force's giant C-5A cargo plane. The engine was the first to use a high-bypass technique in which a fan, working like a turbocharger in an automobile, pushes large quantities of air past the combustion core to produce much greater thrust. The CF6 turbofan (current cost: \$6 million each) has broken the hold Pratt & Whitney had with its JT9D on the giant Boeing 747. GE has boosted production of its most powerful version, the CF6-80C2, from 110 engines in 1987 to 260 this year to meet a backlog of nearly 500 orders.

the verge of withdrawing its support. The CFMS has no real rival because Pratt & Whitney scuttled its plans to build a similar model. The engine builder, a division of Connecticut's United Technologies, cut development plans in the 1970s under the parent company's acquisitive chairman, Harry Gray, "Instead of building this engine, Gray bought of the Woofgang Demisch. The Company land the Company land The company land The company lare suffered "a marketshare erosion as swere as any I can bring to mind," said Demisch.

Four years ago, Pratt & Whitney helped form a five-nation consortium to produce a competitor to the CFM56, but that effort has been plagued by setbacks. The partnership initially claimed that the new engine, called the V2500, would be



The most powerful GE product, a CF6-80C2, gets a final check before testing at an Ohio plant



Pratt's challenger, a PW4000, in Connecticut

cess in developing high-thrusting jet engines for the military, ranked a distant third after Pratt & Whitney and Britain's Rolls-Royce in selling the more fuelefficient engines needed for passenger planes. Admits Brian Rowe, 56, the burly head of GE's Obilo-based aircraft-engine group: "When we first dabbled in commercial engines, we got burnt badly."

GE persevered, and is now the world's dominant engine builder by a commanding margin. Last year GE captured an estimated 63% of the market, compared with 27% for Pratt & Whitney and 10% for Rolls-Royce. The company's success is a classic lesson in the value of patience and persistence, as the design of a new jet engine is a devilishly long-term process that can consume at least five years and more than \$1 billion. GE took a more astute aim at the aircraft market of the future, while Pratt & Whitney failed to develop a full range of quieter and more fuel-efficient models. GE's strategy is paying off. Last year its aircraft-engine division earned profits of \$940 million on revenues of \$6.8 billion

Basically, what GE did was to painstakingly refine its military designs into a line of passenger-jet engines. Its CF6, curGE has also produced more than 2,000 of its smaller CFMS6, the industry's current top seller. The compact engine is well suited to the new generation of shorter-range planes, like Boeing's 737-300, which arilines are using on their growing number of hub-and-spoke routes. The core of the CFMS6, originally a top-secret design intended for the B-1 bomber, was the most advanced available.

Even more daring was the decision by GE to team up with a foreign rival. France's SNECMA, to design and produce the engine. Their partnership, the first of its kind, arose in 1971 from the friendship between two old soldiers: SNECMA's chairman René Ravaud, a crusty, onearmed hero of the French Resistance, and GE's chief enginemaker Gerhard Neumann, who had served as ground-crew chief for the Flying Tigers in China. Each company brought a key ingredient to the partnership: GE shared its high-tech engine core, while the French firm contributed financing from its government. Yet, says Jean Bilien, head of the partnership's marketing company, "for nearly five years we had an engine but no buyer." The partners won their first contract just when the French government was on 14% more fuel efficient than its GE counterpart, but that estimate has been scaled back to 9%. Moreover, the V2500 lost a major customer in February, when West Germany's Lufthansa, citing technical flaws, canceld an order for 40 engines and turned to the CFM56. Now Pratt & Whitney is staking its comeback on its new large engine, the PW4000, for which it has won orders from Singapore Airlines and Korean Air. Says Selvyn Berson, vision: "Two-thirds of the 560 billion in new sales over the next ten years will be in that segment of the market."

GE is betting heavily on a radicallooking new engine called the UDF, for 'unducted fam.' With 16 curved fan blades that spin in the open air, the engine blades that spin in the open air, the engine fuel saving of 40%. McDonnell Douglas has flight-tested the UDF on the prototype for its next midrange plane. But perpary GE's moment of poetic justice really haps GE's moment of poetic justice really 20 of the CFM56 engines. That must have prompted a few smiles at the lightbilt company. — \*D\* rederké fugelesser\*

IF A FLASHLIGHT WITH NEW DURACELL' BATTERIES SAT IN A DRAWER FROM JANUARY 1, 2, 3,4, 78.19.20.21.22.23.24.25.26.27.28.MARCH1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.13.14.15.16.17.18.19.20.21.22.23.24.25.26.27.28.2 وج 14.15.16.17.18.19.20.21.22.23.24.25.26.27.28.29.30.31, JUNE 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, ي \$2,56,27,28,29,30,JULY1,2,3,4,5,6,78,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,2<u>5,26,27,28,29,30,31,NUGUS</u> 5.7.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.11.12.13.14.15.16.17.18.19.20.21.22.23.24.25.26.27.28.29.30.31.SEPTEMBER 1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9.10.17.7 \$\frac{7}{1}\frac{7}{2}\frac{7}{2}\frac{1}\frac{1}{2}\f 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, NOVEMBER 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 2, or DECEMBER 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,16,18,71,20,20,23,24,26,26,26,27,28,29,30,31,14NUARY1,2,3,4,7 3,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29,30,31,FEBRUARY 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14 ? <u>29.30.31.APRIL1.2.3.4.5.6.7</u>.8,9,10,11,12,13,14.15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29,30,MAY1,2,3,4,5,6,7 \$21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29,30,JULY 1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,2 8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,27,28,29,30,0CT0BER1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16, ج.22,23,24,25,26,27,28,MARCH1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23, ر 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, JUNE 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, <sub>كو</sub> 4, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, JULY 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, <sup>17</sup> ? 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, AUGUST1, 2, 3,4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 , 26, 27, 28, 29, 2 PRACE SEPTEMBER 1 12.13,14,15,16 <sup>, 7</sup>0.11.12.13.14.15.16.17.18.19.20.21.22.23.24.25.26.27.28.29.30.31.NOVEMBER O.DECEMBER1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14,15,16,17,18,19,20,21,22,23,24,1

27,28,29,30,31, TO JANUARY 1, THREE YEARS LATER, THEY'D STILL WORK

#### **Business Notes**



 $\label{eq:hostelries} \textbf{The elegant way to save face after surgery}$ 



INVESTORS A quiet stock wizard



PEST CONTROL An army of tiny bug killers

AIRLINES

#### Throttling Back The Giveaways

Perhaps the biggest headache for the airlines these days is a problem of their own making: frequent-flyer programs. Because of the carriers' competitive frenzy to hand out triplemileage awards and other incentives. U.S. air travelers have racked up more than \$300 million worth of freetravel credit. But now the No. 1 carrier, United, is leading what may become an industrywide trend toward throttling back the giveaways. Last week the 4.5 million members of United's Mileage Plus program began receiving letters advising that the airline will launch a "new and improved" plan. In fact, the changes will impose much tighter restrictions on the most popular freebie trips.

United will actually lower the number of miles needed to get a free ticket (20,000 miles for a coach seat, vs. the current 35,000). But those tickets will allow travel only during certain times and within the mainland U.S. The airline will sharply increase the number of miles needed to fly at peak times to more desirable tourist destinations as who provided the control of the co

The airlines are leery about reining in the programs because earlier attempts to do shares, not 5,000."

so provoked customer fury and threats of lawsuits. That is one reason United announced its plan so far in advance: it will not take effect until July 1, 1989. But now that the leading carrier has acted, analysts believe that several competitors will follow suit in a few weeks.

INVESTORS

#### Bequest from The Blue

As an unkempt, minimumwage janitor at Bethany College in Bethany, W. Va., for 30 years, Larry Hummel spent his days picking up litter and his nights alone in a small apartment over a garage. His habit of reading the Wall Street Journal and asking economics professors about the stock market seemed a minor eccentricity. But since his death last month at age 82. Hummel has become a major hero. In his will, he left Bethany (enrollment: 800) a bequest that may eventually be worth as much as \$1 million

Evidently Hummel had parlayed his savings and his share of the proceeds from the sale of a family dairy farm into a small fortune in securities. Recalls Forrest Kirkpatrick, an economics professor and he school's faculty dean: "He used to ask me what I thought of utilities, metals and railroads. I thought he was thinking of buying two or three

PERSONAL COMPUTERS

### The New Kid

When IBM introduced its new PS/2 line of personal computers last spring, dozens of companies began racing to be the first to design clones—copycat machines that sell for a fraction of the price. Last week the distinction was claimed by an upstart, Dell Computer of Austin, which will begin selling PS/2 clones by the end of the

Dell's fast rise is evidence that the computer industry is still fertile ground for newcomers. With a bankroll of just \$1,000. Michael Dell. 23. started selling discount IBM PCs in 1984 as a freshman at the University of Texas. By last year his company was the eleventh largest U.S. maker of personal computers (fiscal 1988 sales: \$159 million). But Dell faces tough competition. Three days after its announcement. Fort Worth-based Tandy said it will begin selling PS/2-compatible machines in June.

HOSTELRIES

#### Tucked Away For That Tuck

Aging stars and starlets of the world, take notice. For those planning a face-lift or tummy tuck, there is a place to hide away in dignity while the sutures and bruises are healing. Le Petit Ermitage in Beverly Hills is claiming an unusual specialty: luxury postoperative care for plastic-surgery patients. The hotel gives patients 24-hour nursing, skilled assistance with makeup, a limousine (with tinted-glass windows, naturally) for trips to the doctor, and gourmet food. Most important is the obsessive privacy-all calls and visitors are screened. The rate: from \$275 a night for one to as much as \$550 for couples who check in for simultaneous make-overs.

PEST CONTROL

#### From Worms To Riches

Are 10 million parasitic worms at \$14.95 a bargain? Biosys, a Palo Alto, Calif., firm thinks so: last month it began selling packages of nearly microscopic nematodes through homegarden catalogs under the name BioSafe. The company hopes to become a leader in the emerging market for environmentally safe pesticides. The worms kill insects by taking up residence inside the pests' bloodstreams but are harmless to humans. pets, birds and plants. So safe is the product, says Biosys, that it is exempt from the Environmental Protection Agency's pesticide regulations. The company hopes the safety assurance will help push annual sales to \$50 million in five years. A lot of worms

TIME, MAY 2, 1988 57

#### **Technology**

#### A Bold Raid on Computer Security

The Hannover hacker is tracked down by a Berkeley whiz

or months the computer intruder moved like an invisible man-until one day Clifford Stoll saw the footprints. The frizzyhaired Stoll, 37, a systems manager at California's Lawrence Berkeley Laboratory, knew something was amiss when one of the computers in his care revealed that an electronic trespasser was trying to use the lab's machines without providing a billing address. Suspecting the intruder might be a student prankster from the nearby University of California campus, Stoll launched a novel experiment. Instead of shutting out the interloper, he allowed him to roam at will through the system while carefully recording his every keystroke.

Thus began a game of cat and mouse that led Stoll and half a dozen investigative agencies far beyond the Berkeley campus. For ten months, they followed the hacker as he wended his way through the networks that link U.S. military and industrial computers all over the world. By the time the hacker was tracked to a ground-floor apartment in Hannover, West Germany, he had accomplished perhaps the most extensive breach of U.S. computer security to date. While no top secrets appear to have been uncovered, the incident shows how easy it can be to go fishing for sensitive information via phone lines and personal computers.

The case first came to light in the



Playing cat and mouse in a mazelike military network

West German weekly Quick, which identified the suspect as a 24-year-old computerscience student with the pseudonym Mathias Speer. In a press conference last week, his pursuer, Stoll, described how the young hacker used the Lawrence Lab computer as a gateway to Internet, a U.S. Government-owned network that connects some 20,000 computers handling scientific research and unclassified military work. While Speer used fairly standard techniques for cracking passwords. he showed uncommon persistence. He attacked some 450 different computers and gained access to more than 30. Victims ranged from the Navy Coastal Systems

Command in Panama City, Fla., to the Buckner Army Base in Okinawa.

The intruder's appetite for military data is what eventually did him in. To trick him into staying connected long

enough to effect a telephone trace. Stoll dangled an irresistible lure: a file of bogus Star Wars information titled SDI Network Project. The sting worked. The hacker stayed on the line for more than an hour, greedily loading the phony data into his home computer. (The information was booby-trapped as well, containing an address in Berkeley for more information on the fictitious project.) West German authorities, working with the FBI, traced the call to the Hannover apartment, questioned its occupant, and later confiscated his machine.

The intrusions came to an abrupt halt, but the mystery persists. Was Speer simply a clever hacker? Or was he a would-be mercenary or even an East bloc

spy? Speer is apparently not telling, and the West Germans lack sufficient evidence to haul him into court. But back in Berkeley, an intriguing new lead has surfaced. Three months after Speer took the Star Wars bait, the lab received a request for more information on the bogus project. Postmarked Pittsburgh, it was signed by a reputed arms dealer with ties to Saudi Arabia. How could he have got the address? The only way, lab officials insist, was to have been in cahoots-or at least in contact-with the Hannover -By Philip Elmer-DeWitt. Reported by Rhea Schoenthal/Bonn and Dennis

Wyee/San Francisco

#### First Peek at a **Stealthy Plane**

For nearly ten years, the Stealth bomber has been a secret in name only. Despite a hidden budget and a classification higher than top secret, military analysts and aviation buffs have pieced together a remarkably detailed picture of the first nuclear bomber designed to be almost invisible to enemy radar. Last week the Air Force acknowledged the plane's flying-wing shape for the first time. The Pentagon issued a drawing of the so-called B-2 and announced that the bomber will make its maiden flight sometime this fall in a

30-mile run between Palmdale and Edwards Air Force Base in California

The B-2's boomerang shape eliminates the thick fuselage and vertical tail section that reflect radar in conventional planes. Flaps, rudders, elevators and ailerons appear to have been replaced by computer-

controlled nozzles that guide the aircraft by directing the flow of the engine's exhaust. The engines themselves are nestled above the wings, shielding them from heatseeking detectors on the ground. The outer skin and inner framework are cast in radar-absorbing carbon-epoxy composites. Other stealthy



The Air Force's drawing confirmed that its secret B-2 is a flying wing

features might include nonreflective paint and a refrigeration system to cool and dissi-

pate telltale exhaust fumes Experts point out that the Air Force drawing may be somewhat misleading. Several details, like the placement of the engine-exhaust outlets. have been deliberately masked. Others, including crew size and maximum payload, along with such flight characteristics as range, airspeed and cruising altitude. remain strictly classified. The Air Force does acknowledge, however, that the plane is going to cost more than projected. The fleet of 132 bombers, originally priced at \$36.6 billion, could cost twice as much by the time it is airborne in the 1990s



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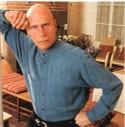


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#### Medicine







Three determined combatants in a battle against a dread disease: David Chandruss, Aladar Marberger and Louie Nassaney

#### "Surviving Is What I Do"

Doctors puzzle over why some AIDS sufferers can hang on to life

ladar Marberger's Manhattan apart- | years ago, "I say, 'Surviving is what I do,' " A ladar Marberger s mannan and ment is a gallery of joy and pain, limned in oil, tempera, charcoal and fresco. In most of the likenesses, an insouciant, vibrant personality shines through, but in a few there is the kind of tension that results from great suffering. These are the portraits of an AIDS survivor. sketched and painted by Marberger's friends since it was confirmed that he had the disease. They are a tribute to a man who will not quit. When Marberger learned in 1985 that he had Kaposi's sarcoma, a rare form of skin cancer that is sometimes associated with AIDS, his reaction was to fight the assault by the AIDS virus no matter what the cost in money or suffering. The co-owner of a successful Manhattan art gallery, he sold off paintings, two homes and an old mill, worth more than a million dollars-a "war chest" for his battle against the disease. For now, at least, Marberger, 40, is

winning the battle. He is determined to qualify as an LTS, or long-term survivor, lingo for someone who has lived with AIDS for three years or longer. It is a term that applies to very few people. According to the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta, the survival rate for 4,200 AIDS patients whose condition was diagnosed between late 1978 and 1983 is 2% to 5%. nearly all of them male homosexuals who contracted the disease through sexual contact. Such slender evidence is often taken as proof by desperate members of the homosexual community that they can overcome AIDS. "When people ask me what I do for a living," says Michael Callen, 33, a New York City musician who was discovered to have AIDS almost six

These men are presenting researchers with a vital question that could be a key to controlling the disease: What is the secret of their survival? Dr. Jay Levy, a professor of medicine at the University of California at San Francisco who has been studying an AIDS survivor, says he is mystified by the phenomenon. "Why is he able to do it?" asks Levy. "Why can't others do it?

#### **Measured Danger**

ow great is the risk of the AIDS virus being transmitted between male and female sex partners? Americans have been told both not to worry and, in a sensationalized book by Sexologists Dr. William Masters and Virginia Johnson, that AIDS is "running rampant" among heterosexuals. Now Dr. Norman Hearst and Dr. Stephen Hulley of the University of California at San Francisco have calculated the odds of heterosexual transmission Last week in the Journal of the American Medical Association they reported that the chance of getting AIDS ranges from 1 in 500 for a single act of intercourse with an infected partner when no condom is used to 1 in 5 billion if a condom is used with a partner who has tested negative for AIDS antibodies. Their suggestion for lowering the odds: know your partner well.

Many survivors acknowledge their indebtedness to such modern AIDS drugs as AZT, which is believed to hinder the replication of the virus and is the only federally approved drug to treat the disease. But many also cling to the belief that AIDS can be controlled largely through mental attitude. That is the case with Ronald Webeck, 40, of St. Petersburg, who found "positive thinking" last year, nearly two years after he was discovered to have AIDS. He marvels that he is still alive while more than 50 of his acquaintances have succumbed to the disease. Although he tires too easily to hold a job, he is able to work with an AIDS support group, trying to "give hope to people to hang on. His survival, he says, is due to "my determination. I refuse to give in

Thousands of other sufferers are turning to nutritionists, acupuncturists, herbalists, hypnotists and voga instructors, AIDS sufferers swear by such self-help books as You Can Heal Your Life (Hay House) by Louise Hay, originally written for cancer patients. Another favorite is Love, Medicine & Miracles (Harper & Row) by Dr. Bernard Siegel, a Yale Medical School professor who theorizes that patients who take a role in their own treatment have the best chances of survival

Positive thinking can surely be a powerful tonic, believes Dr. Jack Gorman, who is principal investigator for a National Institute of Mental Health study on the relationship between the course of the AIDS virus and the psyche. Preliminary evidence, he says, suggests that "depression and stress have bad effects on the immune system, while an optimistic and hopeful attitude has good effects." Other doctors continue to be skeptical about such thinking. "We all like to think that we have some power over what happens, says Dr. Richard Price, head of neurology at New York City's Memorial Sloan Kettering Cancer Center. "But in some situations we don't

It is difficult, however, to explain the case of Louie Nassaney of Van Nuys, Calif., a robust 33-year-old who has defied doctors who told him in May 1983 that he had AIDS and would live for only three to six months. Today, even though he has Kaposi's sarcoma, tires easily and suffers from diarrhea, Nassaney works out for two hours in the gym three times a week, skis and plays racquetball. He shuns all prescription medicines, relying instead on a regimen of eight to twelve grams of vitamin C a day, garlic and herbs. His routine includes acupuncture and relaxation, as well as exercise. This highly disciplined life, he says, is keeping him free of colds, flus and other infections. "I believe that not everything is fatal," he says, "and I believe the same about AIDS.

Equally remarkable is David Chandruss, 25, of Chicago, who was found to have the disease nine years ago. He has recovered from pneumonia without the aid of medication five times. After a bout last year with two serious infections, he was put on interferon, which is supposed to boost the immune system but may cause pain. Now he is on AZT, "You have to have a cause to live for," declares Chandruss, who devotes much of his time to caring for other AIDS sufferers. He lives at a novitiate of the Alexian Brothers, a Roman Catholic order that runs an ambulatory-care center for AIDS patients. Despite his obvious energy, he admits, "It still takes me up to two hours to get out of bed some mornings, and it's a daily battle to stay ahead of the disease." Ultimately, Chandruss believes, his secret of survival is an absolute faith in his ability to stay strong: "If you just think about staying well, it won't work. You have to live it, eat it and breathe it deep inside.

For New Yorker Marberger, the price of that faith is pain, resulting mainly from the experimental drugs he takes, that is so excruciating he must take a "pain cocktail" every four hours. Thus far he has tried interferon, aerosol pentamidine, which is used to treat deadly Pneumocystis carinii pneumonia and AZT. He has also received dideoxycytidine, an antiviral medication. The treatment left him with tearing facial pains. Last week he was back in the hospital after a bout of flu.

'I regard this as World War III." says Marberger. "I'm fighting it with every resource I have." Indeed, each of these men, in his own way, has found reserves of courage and strength in the battle against the virus. For New York Musician Callen, the battle is providing a new sense of purpose. He admits that he is "happier than I have ever been. I hate being sick, but I don't have time to be obsessed about death." It is an attitude that provides a glimmer of hope amid the devastation being wrought By David Brand. Reported by Scott Brown/Los Angeles and The Bitter Cost

Dangers of multiple births

The brave new science of reproductive technology has been a mixed blessing for childless couples. Women who were once told they might never conceive are now able to become pregnant. But fertility drugs or surgery can produce three or four, sometimes even eight or nine. fetuses. Not only does such a pregnancy threaten the mother's health, but each extra fetus increases the risk of miscarriage or premature birth, which can cause an infant's death or irreparable brain damage. In a widely publicized 1985 case. Californian Patti Frustaci gave birth prematurely to septuplets; only three survived.

Now doctors are offering an alternative: aborting some of the fetuses in order to save the others. So far, fewer than 100 women have undergone the procedure, called fetal reduction, at a handful of U.S. hospitals. Usually performed before the twelfth week of pregnancy, it requires that the doctor pierce the mother's abdomen with a needle and, guided by an ultrasound image, inject a lethal drug into the fetus. It dies within minutes. The remaining infants, usually two, then have a much improved chance of developing normally.

Last week in the New England Journal of Medicine a team from New York's Mount Sinai School of Medicine warned that the procedure can lead to miscarriage of all the fetuses. Four of twelve pregnancies analyzed in the study were lost entirely, though the technique was clearly to blame in only one. Others have fared better: Dr. Ronald Wapner of Jefferson Medical College in Philadelphia has treated 18 women with no complications so far.

Those results have not dampened the ethical debate over the practice. Says Dr. John Willke of the National Right to Life Committee: "Fetal reduction is the thinly



One of the three surviving Frustaci septuplets

veiled killing of unwanted babies." But both Wapner and Dr. Richard Berkowitz. head of the Mt. Sinai team, insist that the vast majority of patients come to them for medical reasons, not social ones.

"The most important thing is that this procedure is preventable." says George Annas of the Boston University School of Medicine. Multiple fetuses often result from in vitro fertilization, in which numerous embryos are transferred into the uterus in the hope that one will "take." As a result, some clinics now use fewer embryos. Multiple conceptions have also occurred in women taking fertility drugs; many could be avoided, say obstetricians, if dosages were prescribed more carefully. Such measures would probably lengthen the time that it takes couples to conceive, but that seems a small price to pay for avoiding what must be one of the most painful decisions that parents-to-be are ever forced to make. -By Denise Grady. Reported by Andrea Dorfman/New York

#### **Early Warnings**

An uproar over Accutane

S ince it came onto the market nearly six years ago, the acne drug Accutane has carried stark warnings that it causes birth defects: pregnant women must not take it, and other women must use birth control while on it. The warnings, it seems, have not been enough. Some re-

searchers at the Food and Drug Administration fear that the widely used drug could have caused between 900 and 1,300 babies to be born with severe birth defects. including brain damage. The FDA's concerns became public last week after the New York Times obtained a confidential agency report that raised the possibility of taking Accutane off the market.

The drug is prescribed for patients with severe acne who have tried other medications without success. It is highly effective and half the million people who have taken it are women. There is no doubt that Accutane can cause birth defects, says its manufacturer. Roche Laboratories of Nutley, N.J. But Roche has received reports of only 61 malformed infants born to women who have taken the drug, and the company sharply disputes the figures in the FDA memo. Says Roche

Spokeswoman Carolyn Glynn: "The data are grossly exaggerated." An FDA representative acknowledges that Roche's tally is correct and that the 900 to 1.300 figures are projections, not official figures. The internal report containing them was originally meant to be discussed this week, when FDA and Roche officials will meet to consider Accutane's

#### Law

#### The Battle over Baby K.

Native Americans resist adoption of their children by non-Indians

ot all custody battles involve contending parents. The fight over a nine-month-old girl named Allyssa is a classic clash of cultures. The mother, Patricia Keetso, 21, is an unwed Navajo Indian who would like her daughter to be adopted by Rick and Cheryl Pitts of San Jose, who have been caring for the baby since birth. But tribal officials, fearing that the flow of Indian foster children to non-Indian homes threatens their survival as a people, are seeking to rear the baby on their Arizona reservation. The emotional case has become a symbol of tribal resistance to the baby drain.

Keetso and the Pittses were brought together through San Jose lawyers who arrange adoptions. She lived at the couple's home for three months before giving birth last July. But in April, Navajo officials, who refer to the child as Baby K., convinced a California judge that any decision about custody should rest with the tribal courts. At a hearing last week, a tribal judge in Tuba City returned

Allyssa temporarily to the Pittses, but a final decision is still pending

The case has produced its share of wild scenes, charges and countercharges. At a Phoenix airport two weeks ago, a hysterical Cheryl Pitts chased after Navajo social workers who she claims seized the child and spirited her away to the reservation. Keetso and the Pittses charge that Navajo officials violated an understanding that Allyssa would be placed solely in the care of her maternal grandmother until the hearing. Instead, they say, the child was left in the home of a stranger, where she was neglected and quickly fell ill. Tribal authorities deny that such an understanding existed and contend that the baby's illness was due to a change of formula.

The battle over Allyssa is in part a legacy of the 1978 Indian Child Welfare Act, a federal law that has been invoked in thousands of custody disputes. It empowers tribal courts to make custody and foster-care decisions in most cases involving American Indian children. A large proportion of such youngsters are in the care of adoptive or foster parents, a situation that results partly from a high incidence of teenage pregnancy, parental alcoholism and out-of-wedlock births on the impoverished reservations. Before the 1978 law, it was common for state courts and child-welfare agencies to place Indian children with foster and adoptive parents who were not Native Americans.



Keetso, right, a Navajo, wants the Pittses to adopt Allyssa But on the reservation, there are fears of a baby drain

The outflow led some tribes to fear for their cultural survival. Studies conducted in 1969 and 1974 found that between 25% and 35% of American Indian children were placed in institutions or in adoptive or foster care, mostly in non-Indian households. It was not unheard of for social workers to take children away from their parents "simply because their homes had no indoor plumbing," says David Getches, an expert on Indian law at the

#### **Drink and Disability**

The U.S. Supreme Court is sometimes asked to play God. Last week it turned down the chance to play doctor. In a closely watched case, the Justices declined to decide whether alcoholism is a disease. But they did rule 4 to 3

that the Veterans Administration is not required to view it as one. Two recovered alcoholics sued the VA when it refused to extend the period in which they were entitled to education benefits. Usually veterans receive such benefits only within ten years of leaving the service. The plaintiffs claimed that their drinking qualified them for a special extension offered Is it a disease?



sion-making power in custody cases by invoking a "good cause" provision-for instance, if there is reason to believe the child might be neglected or abused on the reservation. That provision is interpreted too freely, says Attorney Jacqueline Agtuca, an Indian advocate at the Legal Assistance Foundation in Chicago

On the other side, non-Indian critics of the law charge that it permits tribal courts to remove Indian children from foster homes where they have lived happily for years. They complain that it allows tribes to lay claim to children who have never lived on a reservation, simply because one of their parents is part Indian.

Ironically, the would-be adoptive father of Baby K. is one-quarter Indian, of the Tarascan tribe of Mexico. He claims that he would see to it that Allyssa is not entirely deprived of her heritage. But for Rick Pitts, when he imagines the child growing up on the reservation. the images of poverty blot out the

virtues of cultural identity. "Look at the houses, look at the shacks." he says. "Most likely she'd grow up, get disgusted, leave and never come back." Last week Allyssa awaited her fate wearing a layer of sweet powder. A Navajo medicine man had covered her with it during a ceremony performed to expel evil spirits. Perhans it will protect her from the injuries of a bitter custody fight. -By Richard Lacayo. Reported by Scott Brown/Tuba City and

Elizabeth Taylor/Chicago

by Congress to disabled vets provided their disability is not due to "willful misconduct." The VA, however, deems most alcoholism to spring from just that. The Justices ruled that the VA policy is acceptable. Even among those who consider alcoholism a disease, they argued. the consumption of alcohol is not re-

garded as wholly involuntary. Though the decision is not expected to affect medical-insurance benefits or hospital treatment of alcoholism, medical experts and alcoholics' groups were dismayed. "I think the decision is wrong," said Kirk Johnson of the American Medical Association. "To say that primary alcoholism is equivalent to willful misconduct is an anachronism.



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#### Education

#### The Campus Scramble to Recruit

Colleges chase stars while a lot of good students go begging

The phone has been ringing off the hook at Kayode Owens' house in Teaneck, N.J. Owens, 17, a black football star and high school senior with strong SAT scores (1,320 out of a possible 1.600), has told his mother to let it ring. Representatives of Cornell, Columbia. Swarthmore, Yale, Brown, Bowdoin and Harvard-all of which have accepted him for next fall-have been urging him to come. Bowdoin flew him to Brunswick, Me., gratis, for a two-day love feast for minority prospects, complete with a dance at the Afro-American house and a cog au vin dinner at a professor's home. With the May 1 decision date just days away, any further conversation with his suitors would only add to Owens' confusion: "Everybody has been pulling me in different ways," he frets

Julian Rios, 17, of Miami, feels much the same way, having been embraced by all five 
of the top colleges he applied 
to Two weeks ago, a "go Eli" 
call from a Yale alumnus was 
interrupted by a beep signaling 
a competing exhortation from 
Brown. Soon after, Brown 
saked Rios to join other acceptees on a chartered Amtrak 
train ride to the school, where 
a whirl of receptions awaited, 
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and a brass hours as 
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Welcome to the April rush. Across the country last week, colleges were scrambling to land academic superstars. The reason for their push to recruit: with the baby boom busted, en-

rollments have been on a slow but steady, side since 1980. This has prompted even the fusiest schools to adopt giltry new marketing gimmics for wooning top prospects. "Everybody's hustling," says Robert College in Frieds. Last week Sarnh Lawrence College in Frieds. Last week Sarnh Lawrence College in Frieds in Brouxville, NY, held and poetry readings to emphasize the school's strength in the arts. Colgate staged a science fest, where one propect proved so strength in the arts. Colgate staged a science fest, where one propect proved so the property of the science fest, where one propect proved so the property of the science fest, where one propect proved so the province of the property of the province of the property of the province of the property of the p

Meanwhile, as the blue ribbon institutions battle over stars, they are letting legions of very good, if not superlative, students hang out to dry. Richard Steele, admissions director at Duke, reports that





Prospects for Colgate, top, and Sarah Lawrence get campus previews

With the baby boom busted, the scramble is on to sign them up.

this year "The had more calls from good candidates that have been left out than ever before." One boy in suburban New York with 1,220 sArs and three varsity letters was wait-listed by all four colleges the tried, including Schenectady's Union and Lafayette in Easton, Pa. Observes Phyllis Steinbrecher, a college placement consultant in New York: "What was a

safety school is no longer a safety school."
The growing number of shotucts, say admissions experts, is caused in part by ambitious parents who push their young-sters to carve too high on the academic hog. A name-brand college, says Steinbrecher, "has become a status symbol, like a Gucci shirt." Moreover, the crush of applicants from affluent white suburbs as created a seneration of ouglified look-

alikes, all of whom simply cannot get in, especially when schools are seeking diverse student bodies. A third factor is what admissions people call the scalp takers: top students who sit on a fistful of ac-

In this shifting climate. students have tried to ensure themselves of admission by firing off more and more applications. One Massachusetts boy sent 17-an expensive proposition at an average of \$30 per application. Such tactics can backfire when students spread themselves too thin. Duke's Steele recalls a hastily written application from a girl who had a "wonderful record, wonderful boards, but her essay was just six sentences long." In addition, many colleges, overwhelmed by the flood of applications and fearing that there will be an unmanageable jump in enrollment, are actually accepting fewer students than in the past. Cornell, for example. had 693 applications more than last year, but accepted 240 fewer students. Colorado College has rejected over 600 more applicants than last year.

The students who have significant effects and gained acceptance to elite schools find themselves in a very pleasant harbor. Or three, or four. My interviewer at Princeton is so nice to me now," m up, five top schools. "He really wasn't when he first interviewed me."

College administrators are not entirely sure that all the courting and hustle are worth the considerable time and expense (Bowdoin's weekend wooing of 34 minority students cost \$19,800). Still, none are willing to cut back unless their competitors do. And even when the sales pitch is persuasive, educators wonder if the customer has been well served. "I get concerned that all the marketing is taking the place of good counseling and exploiting people who haven't reached a real maturity level," says Frank Burtnett, executive director of the National Association of College Admission Counselors in Alexandria, Va. A college education is, after all, not cornflakes By Ezra Bo

Reported by Janice C. Simpson/Brunswick

#### **Science**

#### On the Wings of Mythology

Once again a Greek flies from Crete under his own power

The plane was formed of space-age plastics, but its mission was inspired by ancient legend. The goal: to see whether man could fly under his own power across 74 miles of Aegean waters, much as a mythological Greek anned Daedalus once escaped his island prison on Crete by fashioning was and feathers into wings and soaring to freedom. Last week, in a historic attempt to to re-create that flight, a team do by engineers from the Massachusetts Institute of Technolæy succeeded in bringing the myth wing that provides 30% more aerodynamic lift than stumpier conventional wings. The team chose a strong, lightweight graphite compound to mold the plane's hollow, dime-thick spine.

In extensive preflight tests, Ethan Nadel, a physiologist at Yale Medical School, verified that the demands placed on the pilot—the equivalent of running two marathons back to back—would not exceed the limits of human endurance. Since the wingspan measures 112 ft. and

accompanied by only the merest zephysperfect flight vesther for Deedales. Temperatures were mild, in the high 60s, ensuring that Kantellopasies would not burn in the Kantellopasies would not burn a.m., most members of the team were awake. Some made last-minute checks of the weather, while often gently assembled on the weather, while often gently assembled and actual to the verturely, A. 170 Kanellopuolos eased his 156-lib. Frame into the cockpit and began pedaling down the tarmac. "I was expecting the takeoff to be the tall winds that the half" as great with the tall winds that we half."

Once in the air, the young pilot maneuvered *Daedalus 88* with a stubby metal joystick on the floor to his right. To de-



Inspiration of the ancients: a mixture of 21st century technology and ordinary muscle power, Daedalus soars during California test flight

back to life. For an arduous 3 hr. 54 min., Kanellos Kanellopoulos, 31, Greek Olympic cyclist and 14-time national champion, pedaled a 70-lb. plane dubbed Daedalus 88 from Creet to a crash landing just off the island of Santorini. Said the wet but beaming pilot: "Everything went like clockwork. I didn't feel at all tired."

The project was conceived in the late 1970s by John Langford, then a student at M.I.T. and now a researcher at the Institute for Defense Analyses in Alexandria. Va. His dream took the combined brains and brawn of 36 engineers, students, historians, physiologists and athletes-and nearly three years-to realize. Like the ultralight craft Gossamer Albatross, which crossed the English Channel in 1979, Daedalus uses human energy and a pair of pedals to drive its propellers. The craft was designed and constructed specifically to challenge Albatross's records for both duration (2 hr. 40 min.) and straight-line distance (22.3 miles). To achieve this, the M.I.T. team built a gearbox with a 2-to-3 ratio instead of using a standard bicycle chain to transmit pedal power to the 11-ft. propeller. In addition, Aeronautical Engineer Mark Drela designed an extra-thin the plane flies just 15 fl. above the ocean waves, even a second's pause would result in a quick dunking. To keep the human engine from sputtering, Nadel, with the Shakkee vitamin company, developed a lemon-flavored cocktail of energy-rich glucose, water and a blend of salts to nourish the plot throughout the flight. In addition, Duedinic ream of five pilot-athi-out of the plot the plot of the plot

or a while it seemed that moment would never come. Bustery winds forced the attempt's cancellation for three weeks. The local people sympathized with the Amerikanakia but told them they were attempting the impossible. Even the team's most optimistic members began to the wonder what would happen if they did take off. After all, hadn't they broad three planes with them, just in casce?

Eventually, however, the gods smiled on the ambitious endeavor. The rosy-fingered dawn that broke over the Greek air force base at Heraklion last Saturday was crease the drag on their sprawling invention, the plane's designers had dispensed with the hinged ailerons on the following edges of the wings that normally make turning easier. As a result, Daedalus responded sluggishly, to the stick's movements, making it more difficult for Kanellopoulos to steer a straight course.

Escorted by a small flotilla that included a Greek navy torpedo boat and two coast guard vessels, the champion cyclist kept in constant radio contact with the M.I.T. command crew. He advised them of his physical condition every 15 minutes, and they reported changes in wind velocity and direction. At about 11 a.m., just 30 ft. off the beach at Santorini, a strong head wind buffeted Kanellopoulos as he tried to land. First the tail broke off and then the wing. Next thing the pilot-athlete knew, he was swimming toward shore, where an enthusiastic mob surged forward to greet him. Champagne corks popped. Kanellopoulos good-naturedly signed autographs on the broken bits and pieces of Daedalus' wing. And the crowd had a new Greek hero to celebrate. - By Christine Gorman, Reported by Sam Allis and Mirka Gondicas/Heraklion

## FOLLOW THE LEADER INTO THE FUTURE



U:30 PM
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#### Science

#### **Does This Make Any Horse Sense?**

Geneticists confirm that Thoroughbreds are not getting faster

or nearly two centuries, selective breeding has been used in an effort to produce Thoroughbred racehorses that are faster and have greater staying power than their forebears. At stake is not only the conformation and temperament of the horses but the many millions of dollars

spent these days by owners and fans on the sport of racing. Yet according to a report in last week's Nature, the British science journal, today's Thoroughbred racehorses do not run much faster than their great-great-grandsires did. What is more, they probably never will.

The reasons, argue two Irish researchers at the Ag-Trinity College in Dublin, stem more from basic physiological constraints on size and swiftness than on the failings of equine genetics. Says Barry Gaffney, a co-author of the report: "It's quite possible from our data that horses may have reached the limits of their speed."

All Thoroughbreds the world over are descended from three stallions imported to England from Arabia and North Africa around the beginning of the 18th century. Since that time, horse breeders have mated only the best with the best, producing such proud champions as Eclipse, Man o' War and Secretariat. For generations only 6% of all male horses in Britain

and the U.S. have been used for breeding. Still, racing times have not improved dramatically since 1910. In the meantime, human Olympic runners have become at least 20% faster than their turn-of-thecentury counterparts. Could it be that racehorses are overbred and that there is

Top speed: pounding to the finish line in the Gotham Stakes at Aqueduct

produce faster animals? Geneticist Gaffney and Colleague Pat-

rick Cunningham set about trying to answer that question in 1985. For 18 months. they pored over the handicap ratings for 31,263 British racehorses. After evaluating the performance of every three-year-old in Britain from 1966 to 1985, they confirmed that the best horses were not getting any

fleeter, but the pack was running faster. Their conclusion: though the gene pool was improving, the top horses had reached their physical limit.

Horsefeathers, say critics. Poultry and livestock bred under similarly selective standards continue to show marked improvements. "If horses aren't getting any faster, it makes one wonder what horse breeders have been up to," comments William G. Hill, professor of animal genetics at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland. Thoroughbreds need

new blood, he suggests, and breeders should consider mating them with

other kinds of horses. What seems logical to the scientific community. however, may be anathema to the racing world. Crossbreeds are automatically disqualified from the most prestigious competitions, such as Ascot and the Kentucky Derby. Dramatically different training does not seem to be the answer either. Although human runners have improved through intense physical training, "you can't explain to a horse why it should train harder," says Brough Scott, a British horseman and au-

not enough variation in their gene pool to | thor. An overtrained Thoroughbred simply goes sour. "Horses tend to be like a machine." explains James Rooney, head of veterinary science at the University of Kentucky, "About 40 m.p.h. seems to be their top velocity." All of which may make picking the winner a closer call

-By Christine Gorman. than ever Reported by Shelagh Donoghue/Chicago and Paul Hofheinz/London

#### Milestones

HOSPITALIZED, Patrick Joseph Kennedy, 20, younger son of Massachusetts Senator Edward Kennedy; for surgery to remove a benign growth pressing on his spinal cord; at Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston, His elder brother, Edward Jr., lost a leg to cancer at age twelve.

HOSPITALIZED. James Garner, 60, square jawed TV and film actor (Mayerick, The Rockford Files, Murphy's Romance); for quintuple heart bypass surgery; at Cedars-Sinai Medical Center in Los Angeles.

DIED, James E. Olson, 62, chairman and chief executive of AT&T; of cancer; in Short Hills, N.J. Son of a North Dakota barber and a schoolteacher. Olson joined the Bell system at age 17, hauling buckets of dirt out of telephone manholes. As chairman, 43 years later, he helped to restructure the \$34 billion company after its court-upheld breakup in 1984.

DIED. I.A.L. Diamond, 67, Oscar-winning screenwriter (with Billy Wilder for The Apartment, 1960); of cancer; in Beverly Hills. His 30-year collaboration with Writer-Producer-Director Wilder produced many memorable films, including Love in the Afternoon, Some Like It Hot and Irma La Douce.

DIED. Arthur Michael Ramsey, 83, Archbishop of Canterbury, spiritual head of the Church of England and leader of the world's Anglicans from 1961 to 1974; in Oxford, England. A progressive social activist, Ramsey advocated Britain's discarding of nuclear weapons. condemned the U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam. opposed restrictions on minority immigration into Britain and supported abolition of the death penalty. A fervent believer in the "unity of Chris tians," he met in 1966 with Pope Paul VI in Rome, the first official visit by a head of the Anglican Church to a Roman Catholic Pope in 400 years. At his retirement in 1974, Ramsey became a life peer and took the title Baron Ramsey of Canterbury.

DIED. Louise Nevelson, 87, celebrated sculptor whose powerful constructions of wood and metal are in the great museum collections of the world; in New York City. The Ukrainian-born artist, brought to Rockland, Maine, in 1905, was already scavenging for wood scraps in her father's lumberyard when she was six. Years later, she prowled the streets of Manhattan to pick up discarded wine crates, bowling pins, chair rails and pieces of molding, and transformed them into vast, shadowy masterpieces. "All my objects are retranslated—that's the magic," she once told an interviewer. Her work from the 1950s will be shown this summer at the Pompidou Center in Paris.

#### **Ethics**



Dust swirls through Owens Valley, Calif., in March of 1942 as the first internees move into dormitories where they will live until the end of the war

#### An Apology to Japanese Americans

The Senate says they were wrongly interned during World War II

Like many historic mistakes, Executive Order 9066 won approval almost offhandedly, On Feb. 11, 1942, preoccupied by a two-front war, President Franklin D. Roosevelt decided not to bother with a meeting on the subject and simply said ves in a phone call to his Secretary of War. adding the bland advice, "Be as reasonable as you can." Signed a week later, the order led to the roundup and internment of 120,000 Japanese Americans for the duration of World War II, an action that Hawaii Senator Spark Matsunaga calls the "one great blot on the Constitution." Last week the nation moved a step closer to expunging that stain. The Senate voted to give an apology and a tax-free payment of \$20,000 to each of the 60,000 surviving internees. The bill must now go to the House, which has already passed a similar measure

Most Americans feel obvious satisfaction at the expression of sorrow and the heap payment of what amounts to reparations for a woeful chapter in national history. Still, a number of ethical questions swirl around the issue. Chief among them: Was sat around the issue. Chief among them: Was satisfaction in the context of its time? Is it necessary or right to apologize for a difficult decision made under unprecedented warrine pressure.

Certainly the hysteria that swept the West Coast after Pearl Harbor set the stage for some kind of drastic action. No rumor about Japanese Americans was too wild to be believed. Treasonous farmers were said to be growing foundaces in arrow-shaped patches that pointed the way for enemy pilots to California defense plants. Nisei students were reported to be pourring into German-laneuse classes at UCLA, presumably to help the Nazis. One story said wily Japanese saboteurs had quietly bought up land around West Coast military installations.

Government officials and opinion lead-

ers played a large role in fanning the flames. For some reason, Navy Secretary Frank Knox said secret agents in Hawaii had effectively helped Japan, though he knew the statement was untrue. A Treasury Department official announced that 20,000 members of the Japanese-American community were "ready for organized action" to cripple the war effort. Earl Warren, then California attorney general, and Columnist Walter Lippmann echoed that theme with some remarkably paranoid reasoning: the lack of sabotage was an eerie sign, indicating that tightly disciplined Japanese Americans must be quietly planning some sort of massive, coordinated strike.

One reason apologies are due is that the U.S. acted against its own best information. The FBI had been watching the Japanese-American community for five years without noticing anything alarming. There is also evidence that the Justice Department did not tell the Supreme Court all it knew about the loyalty of Japanese Americans.

Columnist James J. Kilpatrick argues that fears of a Japanese invasion were not absurd at the time. But the Japanese mission were not absurd at the time. But the Japanese military turned is attention far to the east immediately after Pearl Harbor. By the end of December 1941, Lieut. General John L. DeWitt, who commanded West Coast defenses, concluded that no invasion was likely. By the time F.D.R. signed the Excoutive Order, top Army and Navy comutive Order, top Army and Navy com-

manders agreed that an invasion was almost impossible. Nonetheless the evacuation policy proceeded, partly to show that the Government was buy doing something. There simply was no military need to uprox1 Japanese-American families. U.S. Attorney General Francis Biddle's later assessment should have been made at the time. "The program was ill advised, unnecessarily read unnecessarily read unnecessarily read unnecessarily read unnecessarily read unnecessarily read."

"Hindsight has proven us wrong." aid one of the naysayers, Nevada Senator Chic Hecht, as if the nation were punishing itself today simply for guessing wrong long ago. Bad guesses are not moral failings, but the sweeping suspension of rights for one racial group certainly is. People were interned if they were only oneeighth Japanese by blood. There were no camps for German Americans, despite real support for Germany and Hitler in the German-American Bund. And no camps were set up for Japanese Americans in Hawaii, where there were plenty of ethnic Japanese but no strong tradition of anti-Japanese resentments.

If the wrong is obvious, the ways to right it are not. Senator Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming, among others, strongly objected to the \$20,000 payments: "Honor doesn't come with a dollar sign on it, and you don't buy it back." The objection is disingenuous, since Wallop thinks there is nothing to apologize for. It is also wrongheaded. Under the American system of tort law, wrongful harm is routinely acknowledged with cash payments. But to those interned, the formal apology and the removal of the stigma of disloyalty may count for far more than the cash. The country is also apologizing to itself for trampling its own core values. As the Senate bill says unflinchingly, the internment policy "was caused by racial prejudice, war hysteria and a failure of political leadership. -By John Leo

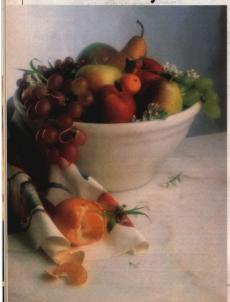
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#### Sport

#### **Hard Times in a Proud Town**

Woes of the O-O-O-O-O-O-O-O-O-O-O-O-Orioles

While the rest of baseball was settling into the season, the Baltimore Orioles were spinning out of the way, reeling from inside pitches too mean to be believed, looking silly and sad. Starting with a 12-0 opener at home, the Orioles lost the first six games for second-year Manager Cal Ripken, who was abruptly fired. Frank Robinson replaced him, and

they lost ten more to shatter an 84year-old major-league record. Once Baltimore was the proudest team in the game, and the winningest.

Since the start of divisional play in 1969, even counting the two woeful seasons past, the Orioles have won 45 more games than the fabled Yankees, 63 and 51 more than the Dodgers and Reds. And how—not how many—was the real distinction. In the front office and on the field, Baltimore played the games smartly, happily and hard and, from 1966 on, happily and hard and, from 1966 on, loss of first came over from Cinclination of the Company of

While he had been a terrific player for ten years, known as a lethal base runner and horrible loser, Robinson was considered a little volatile. One famous night at a diner, he showed a pistol to a quarrelsome cook who was directing Robinson's attention to a meat cleaver. The lithe outfielder-marked down as "an old 30" by Cincinnati management- was dispatched to Baltimore, where that watershed summer he hit .316 with 122 runs batted in and 49 homers, not including the one that won the Orioles' first World Series. Over the five prosperous seasons that followed, his competitive values became imprinted in the Baltimore clubhouse, and they heralded his selection as the big leagues' first black manager in 1975

Robinson was handed the worst team that came along, the Cleveland Indians, and made it respectable. But he was still considered a little volatile. While a player-manager, he socked a Toledo Mud Hens pitcher, who, upset at having been cut by Robinson, nearly beaned him in an exhibition game. Fired within three years, Robinson reappeared in San Francisco. where in 1982 he managed the languorous Giants into the last week of a pennant race. This time, snatching an occasional jersey in anger, he lasted only slightly longer. The word was that Robinson could not communicate with the modern ballplayers. "I communicate with them," he said. "I just tell them things they don't want to hear." The whispers were that he

was especially harsh with the blacks.
"Deep down inside," says Joe Morgan,
the black second baseman whose splendid
career wound down with the Robinson Giants, "I think it's true that he was hoping
for and expecting more from us. We all like
to say we give 100%, but a baseball player
can always take another stee somewhere



#### American League East

American League Last				
Team	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cleveland	13	3	.813	_
Yankees	12	4	.750	1
Boston	10	5	.667	23/2
Detroit	8	6	.571	4
Toronto	8	7	.533	41/2
Milwaukee	7	7	.500	5
Baltimore	0	16	.000	13

along the line. The black players weren't fair to him in Cleveland; I'll leave it at that. And some of our guys let him down too, if you want to know the truth of it. When I heard about the Baltimore job, I almost sent Frank a telegram. I was going to say, "Congratulations—I think."

Besides a hopeless pitching corps that mocks the great Oriole staffs of the past, Robinson inherits two children of the despesd manager. Billy Ripken, 23, the second baseman, quietly exchanged his uniform number for his dads." I don't want to see anyone else wearing it." he gurn and the search of the control of the properties of the p

Baltimoreans are especially worried about Cal Jr., the American League's Most Valuable Player of 1983, who went 0 for 29 at one stretch in the Orioles' slump. His contract is up this season, and they fear he will abandon the town. In fact, they have deeper fears than that.

Since 1979, the Orioles have been the property of Washington Trial Lawyer Edward Bennett Williams, famed counsel to Joe McCarthy, Jimmy Hoffa and the Birdman of Alcatraz. No local buyer could be found when Williams bought the team for \$12 million; now it is said to be

worth 560 million, Williams' general manager until last October, Hank Peters, insists that "winning and loss and the peters, insists that "winning and loss hame for the Orioles' decline belongs to "me, the owner, the manager, the players and the farm system." But the emphasis should be on the in the peters of the peters of

A sid element of his impatience, rightening to the city that has already lost the baskethall Bullets and football Colts, is that Williams is seven surgeries into a heroic fight said. "the team will be sold." Though the city is offering Williams an ew stadium, he seems to be resisting signing any lease. A grim knowledge of trustees and their responsibility to highest blodders makes

The old record of the 1904 Senators and 1920 Tigers was 13 perfect losses, but the Orioles were at 16 and looking unstoppable when they preached the crescendo of allowing on inte first iming runs by the Kansass City Royals Grayerat 52 and a little less volatile, Robinson finally closed the clubhouse door and screamed.

only five black managers (Larry Doby and Maury Wills had momentary calls in Chicago and Seattle), some people are saying Frank Robinson has become an old-boy network complete unto himself, as recyclable as the much fired, well-traveled perennials Don Zimmer and John McNamara. "People say a lot of things," Morgan mutters through tight teeth, "but watch how much better the Orioles play. He can't make them great, but he'll make them as good as they can be." Having resolved not to "spit so much fire." Robinson said, "I was more diplomatic in San Francisco than I was at Cleveland, and hopefully I'll be more diplomatic here. But you can be too diplomatic." And a lit--By Tom Callahan tle fire hit the ground.

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#### **Video**



The laid-back mogul, on the set of Hooperman, contemplates his success: "I'm much more of an idealist than a cynic"

## **Changing the Face of Prime Time**

Trendsetting Producer Steven Bochco turns out hits by rocking the boat

he TV season may be limping to a premature end, courtesy of the seven-week-old writers' strike, but fans of Hooperman and L.A. Law can hardly say they didn't get their money's worth. Police Detective Harry Hooperman talked a couple of potential suicides down from building ledges, negotiated a clutch of hostage crises and got his on-again, off-again girlfriend (and downstairs neighbor) pregnant. Over at L.A. Law, a mob boss was gunned down across a restaurant table from Attorney Grace Van Owen; Michael Kuzak, a partner in the firm of McKenzie, Brackman, watched a client get shot to death outside the courtroom after being acquitted of murder; and Senior Partner Douglas Brackman had surprise reunions with no fewer than two long-lost halfbrothers-as well as his dead father's mistress. He is now sleeping with the latter.

It has been, in other words, business as usual in the world of Producer Steven Bochco. And that business has been awfully good. Bochco, 44, a deceptively laidback Californian with a fierce determination to shatter TV's familiar formulas, is on a roll. L.A. Law, his designer drama about life in the legal fast lane, is about to end its second season on NBC as the highest-rated dramatic show on TV's highestrated network. Hooperman, starring John Ritter as a sensitive San Francisco con is one of the season's top-rated new series and an ambitious pioneer of TV's newest form, the "dramedy." A potential spin-off is already in the works, focusing on a

dwarf private eye named Nick Derringer, to be introduced in a segment next week. In addition, Bocheo has signed a development deal with ABC that calls for him to create ten more series over the next nine years. Even if only two or three of the shows make it, Bocheo's stamp will be on a sizable chunk of the prime-time schedule for much of the next decade.

That stamp, first seen in his ground-

breaking police show HIM. Street Blues, has changed the face of TV. Unlike simplistic TV dramas of the past. Becken shows typically Feature a medley of chief working the face of the chief whose typically feature as medley of the substitution of t

Most important, Bocheo has demonstrated that beat-rocking can win an audience—one, moreover, made up of the sort of young, upscale viewers that adsort of young upscale viewers that adshows for people who don't watch TV. No producer of the 1980 has been more influential. "He's shown that there's an audience for excellence," says David Milich, a former IIII Street writer ety HIIIB Bante." In so doing, he has in-

creased the possibilities for everyone."
His success has not come without a fight. In the collaborative medium of network TV, Bechoo is known as as tough and control of the collaborative medium of network to the collaborative medium of the collaborative

That self-assurance-some call it arrogance-has contributed to professional rifts. In March 1985, at the end of Hill Street's fifth season, Bochco was fired as executive producer after he resisted efforts by MTM Enterprises to reduce the show's high production costs. And late last year Bochco became embroiled in a bitter feud with Terry Louise Fisher, his creative partner on both L.A. Law and Hooperman. After negotiations to take over Bochco's job as executive producer of L.A. Law next season went awry, Fisher was barred from the show's set. She responded with a \$50 million breach-ofcontract suit, which was later settled out of court. The pair have now split for good.

The legal wrangle was an ironic backstage twist for TV's savviest courtroom drama. Among its substantial achievements, L.A. Law has brought TV lawyers into the '80s; the firm of McKenzie, Brackman is the first to deal with the whole gamut of cases that preoccupy America's litigious society, from sensational rape trials to mundane contract disputes. Unlike the Perry Masons and Owen Marshalls of TV's earlier days. these lawyers worry about salaries, office politics and off-hours relationships, like the steamy romance between Van Owen (Susan Dey) and Kuzak (Harry Hamlin). Sometimes they even lose cases

Not that the show is quite the truthtelling breakthrough it is meant to be. L.A. Law may be high Bochcovian drama.

but it is still TV drama. The courtroom scenes are full of implausible outbursts and Perry Masonesque confrontations. Complex legal issues are simplified into neat black-andwhite choices. The wrong side is usually represented by an oily attorney who badgers witnesses ruthlessly. The right side is usually represented by, well, our guys.

Bochco's sly accomplishment is to have concocted a show that, while styling itself as a no-holds-barred look at the legal profession, manages to reaffirm a host of romantic illusions about lawyers. Except for one cartoon villain (the mercenary Brackman, played by Alan Rachins) and to some extent the slick divorce lawyer played by Corbin Bernsen, virtually all the main characters on L.A. Law are upright, principled, sensitive and dedicated. There are few hints that ethical compromises, or even a healthy professional detachment, might be part of the terrain. When Abby Perkins (Michele Greene), one of the firm's young associates, tried last fall to get a pair of feuding former business partners to settle their contract dispute out of court, there was a hint (rare on L.A. Law) that she might not be pulling her weight at the firm. The doubts, however, were short-lived; her clients made up, praised her effusively in front of the boss-and got her a big raise to boot. No good deed goes unrewarded at McKenzie. Brackman. The show says you can have your ideals and your BMW too.

"I'm much more of an idealist than a cynic," Bochco says, "more of an optimist than a pessimist." To be sure, his own life is one argument for the possibility of having it all Bochco, boyishly charming but prematurely gray, lives with his second wife, Actress Barbara Bosson (who co-stars in Hooperman), and two children

in a spacious 14-room house in Pacific Palisades. In a town of driven workaholics, Bochco nearly always gets home for dinner with the family. "What keeps him fresh is that he's not obsessive." says Producer Milch. "He doesn't occupy the self-enclosed world of the writer. Family life is important to him.

Bochco's childhood family life was close but beset by money problems. He grew up on Manhattan's Upper West Side, the son of a violinist who once played with the NBC Symphony under Toscanini. After flirting with music. Bochco opted for playwriting at Pittsburgh's Carnegie Tech (now Carnegie-Mellon). The only play of his to be given a student production was a "disaster, Bochco recalls. But he established a close circle of lifelong friends-among them Actors Michael Tucker (Stuart Markowitz on L.A. Law) and Charles Haid (Renko on Hill Street Blues).

Bochco broke into TV with a summer iob at Universal studios and wound up





Hamlin and Dey in L.A. Law; Ritter as Hooperman Interwoven plots, social issues and gross-out humor.

spending twelve years there, turning out scripts for shows like Columbo and Mc-Millan and Wife. In 1978 he moved to MTM Enterprises, the studio started by Grant Tinker and his then wife Mary Tyler Moore. After a couple of failed series. Bochco and another MTM writer, Michael Kozoll, were asked by NBC to develop a police series with a human touch. They came up with Hill Street Blues, which debuted in January 1981. Though ratings were low at first, NBC stuck with the show; it went on to win a record 26 Emmys (six for Bochco alone) and to virtually reinvent television drama.

Hill Street's success was followed by Bochco's most notable failure: Bay City Blues, an ensemble show about a minorleague baseball team, canceled after just four episodes in 1983. Less than two years later, Bochco was ousted from Hill Street and MTM. But he resurfaced quickly at 20th Century Fox, where he began working on an idea that had been percolating for a year and a half: a Hill Street-style ensemble drama about a high-powered

contemporary law firm. L.A. Law, which debuted in September 1986. caught on almost immediately

Bochco has remained closely involved in the series, overseeing everything from casting and budgets to regular story conferences. Casually dressed in jeans and sneakers and idly tossing a football during meetings, he is adept at managing the show's complex story lines as well as a crew of collaborators. "I see myself as more of a chorus member than a soloist," he says. "I'm good at creating an environment in which people can function creatively.

Bochco has less day-to-day involvement in Hooperman, for which he co-wrote the first three scripts and now serves as consultant. The show, a provocative but overly congested half hour of drama and comedy, has yet to hit its creative stride. But Bochco's batting average has been impressive enough that the networks seem convinced he has a golden touch. Last fall CBS tried to hire Bochco as its chief of programming. He turned down the job, partly because it would mean giving up his financial interest in L.A. Law and Hooperman, expected to be worth millions when the shows go

into syndication Instead, Bochco accepted ABC's lucrative development offer. Though he will continue as executive producer of L.A. Law for one more season, his new role will probably force him to give up close supervision of any one series. Some associates think that will be hard. "I think he'd have trouble being an Aaron Spelling, creating a series and stepping away," says Michael Tucker, "Steve isn't a step-away kind of guy

Unusual among successful TV producers, Bochco has no yen to make movies. "You can reach a tremendous audience with more sophisticated stuff in TV," he says. "Movies have a different audience, and I don't have much to say to that audience." Trying to justify people's increasingly high expectations of him is challenge enough. "I never imagined the tyranny of success-the way you have to deal with a new standard of excellence," he says. "Do you play the game not to lose? Or do you keep going for a win-pushing it a bit and doing it better or different?" If you don't know Bochco's answer to that question, you haven't been watching. -By Richard Zoglin.

Reported by Elaine Dutka/Los Angeles







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#### Cinema

#### **Opera for the Inoperative**

Catchy tunes and deep passions highlight the Aria anthology

You don't have to love opera to like Aria. In fact, knowledge of music drama may prove a liability in appreciating this anthology of ten short films by ten prominent directors, each one spitballing on themes from the opera repertory. If however, you are a connoisseur of rock videos, with their images like Day-Glo wallpaper after a food fight, you will feel right at home. Watching three of the segments (based on hit songs from Un Ballo in Maschera, La Forza del Destino and Rigoletto), purists could sneer at Aria as MTV-Movies Trash Verdi. But Producer Don Boyd and his crew want to revive the old music's passion and fun, not to mock its petrified conventions. And as often as not, the film succeeds. This is high culture dolled up as pop culture, aesthetics for the anesthetized, opera for the inoperative

Half of Aria's episodes can be considered briefly and passed over, like the bacon bits at a sumptuous salad bar. The connecting sequence, by Bill Bryden, takes way too long to let John Hurt dress up as Pagliaccio. Charles Sturridge's essay for La Forza del Destino-an urban mural of children's faces-is all dour style, a Bugsy Malone in Nighttown. The Bruce Beresford segment, from Erich Korngold's Die tote Stadt, is content to watch two young people disrobe in an English mansion. Robert Altman had the inspiration to show a restless 17th century audience at Rameau's Les Boréades, then neglected to develop his night-at-the-opera sketch with any coherence. Derek Jarman's episode, to Charpentier's Louise. imagines an old diva taking a final curtain call, her mind garlanded with fading memories. Sweet but frail



Turandotty: Ken Russell's priest-surgeons

Now for the good stuff. Nicolas Roeg casts his wife, the exemplary Theresa Russell, as King Zog of Albania foiling a terrorist plot to the strains of Un Ballo in Maschera. Jean-Luc Godard sets Lully's Armide in a Paris gym. Body builders pump iron; two gorgeous sorcresses dust them off. Murder is in the air, and the ki-

netie peetry Godard can create from the way a woman's hir falls across her face Julien Temple's witty episode—quick gags and endless tracking shots—plops Rigo-letro into California's barroque Madonna Inn. A movie producer philanders in a room decorated in Late Nemoderthal. and an Elvis impresonator lip-synes La donna'e mobile. In another Western hotel, I Tristan and Solde execute a quickie martage and a slow double suicide. Director Little and the California de la slow double suicide. Director Little and California de la slow double suicide. Director Little and Sold and So

And Ken Russell was made for Artia. The music is Nexus dornar from Puccin's Turnodor; the images are the last free as the first a mysterious ritual: paint on her body, diamonds on the soles of her feet, finally a branding iron pressed to her lips. A rude flash, and we are mortal wounds, the priests surgeons, the vision one of hope and fear for the unknown world that follows death. Visually, Russell's sequence is pitched at see above high-ee. Emotionally, it takes preposter-high-ee. Emotionally, it takes preposter-

For all its modern film style, Aria blends two old forms: classical opera and the silent film. Both discovered unique languages to convey emotions; both eschewed irony for intensity; both declined in the 1920s-opera with Puccini's death, silent movies with the coming of sound. So a headlong romantic like Ken Russell will embrace opera on film like a first, lost love. For him, opera is performed at peak volume because the feelings it surveys are big and deep. Matters of lust and death are too important to be spoken; they must be sung, shouted, thundered, wept-and shown, in all their delirious force. At its vagrant best, Aria reminds viewers of the original arithmetic of cinema: sight + sound = sensation. -By Richard Corliss

#### **Hitchcrock**

#### A TIME OF DESTINY

David Puttnam had a good idea when he took over Columbia Pictures in 1986. He would match Hollywood actors with daring directors from Britain, Europe and the U.S. independent bloc. The films that emerged from this cultural Marshall Plan in reverse might not be better than the usual teenpix and dime-novel dramas, but they ought to be more exciting.

Puttnam left Columbia last fall, before he could harvest the fruits of his scheme. But if he looks at A Time of Destiny, with two Oscar-winning actors (William Hurt and Timothy Hutton) and the team that made the off-Hollywood hit El Norte, he will be spinning in his golden parachute. The film is a mess.

As World War II heats up, the Larranetas of San Diego are already aboil. Papa (Francisco Rabal) is a Basque-born tyrant. Josie, his pretty daughter (Melissa Leo), is eloping with G.I. Jack (Hutton). Martin, the unloved son (Hurt), is so bent on winning the late approval of his Shane-sadist of a father

that he follows Jack to

Italy, and back home, with murder in mind.

With its purloined letters, incestious jealousies and galloping neuroses, A Time of Destiny spins enough plot for a year of Falcon Crest, then filches its climax from Hitch-

The road to dull: Leo and Hutton

cock's Vertigo and Saboteur. So how come nothing works? Maybe because this family farrago is played for keeps, instead of for the laughs it accidentally evokes.

Writer-Producer Anna Thomas and Writer-Director

Gregory Nava have swathed their story in the amber sunsets of nostalgia. But this patina has the same effect on the winceable dialogue and agitated performances as lacquer on attic furniture. The farce of Destiny proves, yet again, that the road to dull is paved with bad pretensions. #R.C.

#### **Theater**



Jackson and Plummer in Macbeth: bumps, good box office and a missing point of view

#### **Sexual Chemistry Sans Catalyst**

MACBETH by William Shakespeare

S uperstitious theater folk call it "the Scottish play." For them, merely to speak its name is to invite worse agonies than any conjured from eye of newt and toe of frog. More rational observers, too. view Macbeth as fraught with difficulties. Its plot cannot work unless skeptical modern audiences will believe in witches and the supernatural. The central couple kill in unforeshadowed haste and repent in wearisome leisure. As a tyrant, Macbeth seems a paranoiac cross between Herod, slaughtering a legion of innocents to be sure he got the right one, and the pathetic people who kill entire families on purported instruction from God. Thus it is scant surprise that the Macbeth that opened on Broadway last week used up three directors, two sets and five Macduffs during a six-city tryout tour

Despite the bumpy beginnings, the production has triumphed at the box office. It took in \$599,964 in one week in Toronto, believed to be a world record for a nonmusical, and reached Broadway with advance sales of \$2 million.

TV ads suggest an intriguing sexual ambivalence. Chrisopher Plummer's feline grace vs. Glenda Jackson's vulpine
fercivit, his moody introspection with pine
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forthright speech and action. Alsa what
sounds like explosive chemistry proves inert. The missing catalyst is a directorial
diea of what the play is about, a point of
view. From the opening declamatory rant
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it in monotone; Jackson distracts attention from her shrillness by twitching, fidgeting, and slithering her hands over her torso in erotic confusion.

#### **Biological View**

THE TALE OF LEAR Adapted from Shakespeare by Tadashi Suzuki

nvision a King Lear cut down to 100 minutes, cast only with men—the daughters sporting beards, the fool a burly fellow in nurse drag-and staged as the fantasies and fuddled memories of a dotard near death. Not outraged yet? How about a Lear in which the title character is played without age makeup by a 30-yearold? For which the director is a Japanese staging his first work entirely in English? For which the costumes are pieced together from antique kimonos, the set is metal gratings and a chair, and Lear spends a long while stuffed into a laundry cart? Surely this is auteurist direction run riot, the sort of conceptual staging of Shakespeare that makes theatergoers yearn

for the days of the director as traffic cop. Actually, no. The Tale of Lear, now touring U.S. regional theaters, focuses its innovations more on the play's psyche than on the director's. To be sure, sometimes it is merely idiosyncratic. The nonsense sounds, absurdist gestures and gloomy lighting may have primarily private meaning for Tadashi Suzuki, 48, a leading figure of the international avantgarde, and for the dozen actors from the co-producing ensembles: StageWest in Springfield, Mass., where The Tale of Lear is to run through May 15; Milwaukee Repertory Theater, Arena Stage in Washington and Berkeley Repertory Theater in California. But for the most part, this work sparks audiences to think anew about Shakespeare's original intent.

For Suzuki, Lear is less a king than a man, and the tragedy of Lear is less the loss of political power than the inevitable crumbling of the mind and body. Although the play was written before the development of modern medicine, it is, in this version, clearly a play about medical emergencies. In particular, it suggests that the howling storm from which Lear never recovers can best be understood as an internal event, perhaps a stroke. Nurses may object to the image of one of their number (Jeffrey Bihr) ignoring a patient while reading what seems to be a novel that tells the story of Lear and cackling at the gruesome bits. But the scene evokes the actual emotional distance between dying patients and the medical professionals attending them. If Lear (Tom Hewitt) is



Hewitt and Bihr in Lear: emergencies

tumbled into a laundry cart, many another patient has felt similarly objectified.

This biological emphasis comports comfortably with the plots and subplots about betrayals by children. Such events do not pale before death; they become even more horrifying, because children are every parent's attempt at immortality. When sons and daughters assert their wills, they issue the last reminder of the permanence of the grave. —WALH III

#### Art

#### **Toward a Mummified Sublime**

Using black glop, Donald Sultan produces gloomy elegance

The trouble with the exhi-bition of the work of Donald Sultan, which opened at the Brooklyn Museum recently after a sevenmonth run in other American museums, is its date. It should have begun in 1997. Then there would be a larger oeuvre to assess, a longer career to discuss, and not just a bright reputation to inflect.

Sultan was born in Asheville, N.C., in 1951 and is certainly among the more gifted American artists of his generation. But this show's catalog hums with inflated comparisons and claims. "He seems formed in the Manet mold. writes one contributor, Ian Dunlop, adducing by way of proof that Sultan, like the great Edouard, is ambitious. paints images from "modern life," looks at old master paintings, etc. Sultan does have a crush on Manet; a small still life with asparagus ous single asparagus stalk. and a little detail of masts and sails in Ma-

net's Moonlight over Boulogne Harbor, 1869, is blown up to an 8-ft. square in Sultan's Harbor July 6, 1984. But there is, to put it mildly, a wee gap on the scale of talent between Sultan and his lucky predecessor

Another catalog eulogist, Lynne Warren, noting Sultan's commitment to formal painting and his commendable lack of interest in grabbing quotes from visual mass media, winds up with the startling claim that "his works are meditations on the possibilities of transcendent meaning for an audience that has forgotten . . . how to believe." Aw, come on. There is nothing "transcendent" about Sultan's work. It is decorative and materialistic. Most of its motifs come from photographs, not direct observation; its style is distanced and gloomily elegant, enlivened by discreet erotic puns between, for instance, lemons

and breasts Much of the character, and indeed the strength, of Sultan's paintings lies in their odd, slightly fetishistic technique. He works on square plywood panels, faced with Masonite and then covered with ordinary vinyl tiles. Over these goes a thick coat of black glop-industrial butyl rubber. used by roofers. Once this tarry skin is dry, Sultan cuts and blowtorches his design into it, filling in white patches with plaster and enriching the whole with color. The seams



pays homage to Manet's fam- Along the seawall but stuck in the grid: Battery May 5, 1986

of the tiles and panels impose a grid on the image, a ghost memory of the minimalist grids that pervaded American art in the

70s, when Sultan was a student. This laborious process favors contour and flatness, light-and-dark contrast rather than color, and the single iconic shape. Sultan does decoratively what an older American artist like Robert Moskowitz



Dense workings: Black Tulip May 23, 1983 Amid the crackle, a ballerina swoon.

does grandly: by taking a familiar shape and rescaling it, mainly as profile-one still life of an egg and three lemons on a plate is also 8 ft. square-he slows up recognition and provokes, in the more suc-

cessful paintings, a sense of

strangeness This scheme gets in the way when, instead of simple. flat images, he tackles scenes with a deeper space. In a painting like Battery May 5, 1986-black, smudgy figures on a promenade in lower Manhattan, a plunging perspective of lamps on the seawall, a livid yellow sky-the recession is brusquely contradicted by the surface grid of vinyl tiles; the image struggles to break back from the picture plane but cannot. It is a self-canceling effect but not an interestingly perverse one.

In other paintings of fires, abandoned industrial plants and refineries belching out their pollutants under a Stygian sky, the emotive content of the image (industry as Pandemonium) is at odds with the stolid execution Few techniques could be less suited to depicting what is fugitive and mobile, like fire and smoke, than cutting silhouettes from roofing tar.

Sultan leans toward the mummified sublime. His stage effects of glare and silhouette descend, remotely, from Turner. But he is so used to thinking in terms of figure and ground that he handles the transitions between them-the midtones, the modulations of light-clumsily at best

The area of Sultan's work that seems unequivocally successful is his drawingsbig, densely worked silhouettes of tulips and lemons, with so much charcoal ground into the paper over repeated layers of fixative that its blackness is velvety and palpable, with something of the richness of Jasper Johns' encaustic or Richard Serra's paintstick drawings. Sultan is highly sensitive to the play of black and white. In drawings like Black Tulip May 23, 1983, he gives his shapes an admirable, embodied decisiveness: you sense that they have all been the subject of hard aesthetic argument. The tulip stems swoon like Margot Fonteyn's neck; the leaves fairly crackle with graphic energy. At times in the configuration of one of Sultan's flowers, one sees a sly reference to Matisse's odalisques. Sultan's instinct for pattern could

have degenerated into a formula by now. especially given the market demand for his drawings, but it shows no sign of doing so-though the small still-life paintings are perhaps another matter. Within his limitations, he is certainly an artist to watch. -By Robert Hughes

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#### Books

#### **A Din of Demanding Voices**

THE DEATH OF METHUSELAH AND OTHER STORIES

by Isaac Bashevis Singer; Farrar, Straus & Giroux; 244 pages; \$17.95

The 1982 publication of Isaac Bashevis Singer's Cellected Stories prompted critical applause, commercial success and a nagging uneasiness among the author's devoted readers. Might this summing-up career had already been decorated with a Nobel Prize, be an indication that Singer, hen 74, was thinking of slowing down? In retrospect, of course, it would have made more sense and wasted less time to be con-more staged and wasted less time to be con-world and dealy grow sensible and dull. Forces of nature do not stop voluntarily.

Babbion tells of an litherant sorcerer and healer who travels to a remote village and falls victim to the dark powers that have supported him in his trade. The House supported him in his trade. The House cafe listening to an older man recount an amorous adventures with married women. The Smuggler describes a visitor with some books to be autographed who pays a call on a writer in his New York City prodding at all, some secrets.

These three types of Singer stories share a sharp urgency, a sense that time is

such robots are built they'll be just like hors." Next comes the surprising turn in which Boris introduces his handsome young nephew into their lives, obviously engineering his wife's adultery, It works, and that is followed by her leap out of a window and falled suicide. What does she make of all this?" I came to et ley out, when the host of the hist of the horse host of the hist of the

The author aims most effectively for the mind's ear, his fiction is filled with exuberant noise, the din of voices demanding attention, explaining themselves, complaining about the way the world has treated them. "Man has no more freedom than a bedbug," insists one. "In this respect, Spinoza was right." Another tells



#### **Excerpt**

The way I see it, everything in man is ready-made . . . Why are all the snowflakes hexagons? They say that the molecules always form the same pattern. But how do the molecules remember to retrace last year's pattern? I have pondered these riddles from my childhood. In all my years I continued to make my own plans, but it laways happened that I became to the proposition of the proposition of

'One can understand anything,'

77

Sure enough, a book of 22 new Singer stories appeared in 1985, and now here come 20 more in *The Death of Methuselah and Oher Stories*. In the space of six years, while moving into his ninth decade, the author has managed to render his earlier collection decidedly incomplete.

But hardly obsolete. All of Singer's short fiction, from long-established classics like Gimpel the Fool to the latest story. hot off the presses, is amazingly of a piece. Three basic formulas are constantly repeated. Unrest stirs a rural Polish village, thanks to the mischief of its inhabitants and their attendant demons. An aspiring young author passes his time in Warsaw visiting the Yiddish Writers' Club and storing up everything he hears and does. An older incarnation of the same man. expatriated from Poland and living on Manhattan's Upper West Side, submits willingly to readers and strangers who come to his door bearing strange tales. From these premises, Singer continues to construct an apparently inexhaustible supply of variations

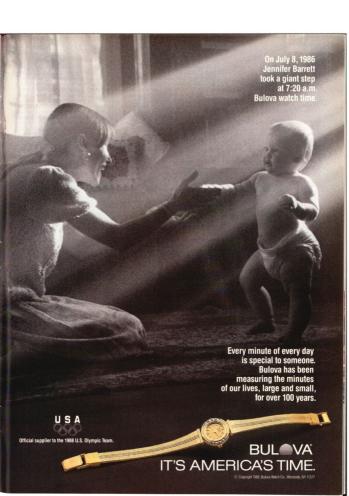
Hence, in this volume, The Jew from

too precious to waste on flowery descriptions or circumlocutions. One character commands another, "Speak simple Yiddish," the language in which all these tales were originally written, and the English translations by the author and others do their best to obey the spirit of this injunction. Storytellers appear suddenly, with scant preamble, and seem eager to get off the page as soon as possible. They punctuate their narratives with such remarks as "To make it short ..." and "Why drag it out?" The Trap involves yet another caller at the writer's apartment, a woman on crutches who announces, "I'm not going to bother you with too many details. I'll come right to

She is as good as her word, but her parsimonious expenditure of language does not imply a poverty of experience. On the contrary, she tells of her early years as a chambermaid at an Adiron-dacks hotel and her unexpected marriage to one of the guests, a rich but supernally dull stock trader: "I read some time ago that they're building robots that think. If

how jealousy drove him cruzy." I now hatde all women. Lifting my hands to heaven, I swore never to marry." The narrator asks, "Did you keep your word?" The laconic response. "I have six grandchildren." Singer's people seldom shy away from expounding on the mysteries of existence. "People often say that one cannot the ways of human beings can be just as perplexine."

A cranky contrariness enlivens these and all Singer stories. Even the Methuselah of the title story, aged 969 years and impatient for death, can be stirred back to sexual life. In A Peephole in the Gate. a man laments that his advanced years have not brought the serenity he expected: "I reckoned that after 70 a person stops musing about all petty things. But the head does not know how old it is. It remains young and full of the same foolishness as at 20." The prospect of such protracted turmoil may not please everyone, but the news is conveyed in these vibrant stories with unforgettable, irresistible energy. -By Paul Gray



#### **Books**

#### Cocksure

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY, JR.: PATRON SAINT OF THE CONSERVATIVES by John B. Judis Simon & Schuster; 528 pages; \$22.95

hirty years ago, William F. Buckley Thirty years ago, william I Jr. was widely viewed as a reactionary young fogy. Ten years later his critics were content to see him as a leading spokesman for conservatism and a worthy opponent. Today the editor of the National Review TV host, columnist, lecturer, spy novelist and yachtsman is an Establishment celebrity admired for his charm but reproached for his unbearable lightness of being



Judis: portraying a counterrevolutionary

If Buckley worries about his public persona, he does not show it. Snook cocked, polysyllables bristling, he goads his critics by making everything he does look easy or, even more rankling, look like fun. There is a price. His books sometimes show signs of having been written with one eye on an in-flight movie. His syndicated column occasionally follows the hasty recipe, ad hominem, mix and half-bake. Yet he possesses genuine literary gifts and first-strike verbal capabilities that are devastating in debate

The Buckley that emerges from John Judis' equitable biography is a versatile though not especially complex man. He establishes most of his positions from two fixed points: his Roman Catholic faith and his anti-Communist passion. Understanding his motives and drives, however, requires some adjustment. Most liberals consider Buckley a member of the privileged class. But as Judis describes him. Buckley sees himself as an outsider and counterrevolutionary battling entrenched atheism, collectivism and moral

He started early. At age seven, in 1932. he wrote King George to demand that Britain pay its war debts. He named his first sailboat Sweet Isolation. After State-

side service in the Army during World War II, Buckley went to Yale, where he used the rostrum and the columns of the university paper to crusade against liberalism. He formalized his quarrels in God and Man at Yale and became an unexpected

best-selling author in 1951

Judis provides useful insights into Buckley's conservative lineage. One early influence. Albert Jay Nock, an anarchist and enemy of mass culture, had visions of an intellectual élite he called the Remnant. Another, Yale Political Scientist Willmoore Kendall, argued that the interests of the majority should always prevail over individual rights. A loathing of the left had already been passed on to Buckley by his father Will, a Texas-born oilman who made a fortune in Mexico. only to have most of his property there seized in the years after the 1910 revolution

By the time Buckley founded the National Review in 1955, he had abandoned ambitions to be a political philosopher. The long scholarly pull did not suit his polemical talents and gregarious nature. His friend Literary Critic Hugh Kenner put the matter concisely when he said that Buckley "was simply moving too fast to think, by which I mean that thought had

become reflex."

Judis, an editor at the leftward newsmagazine In These Times, fosters this and like assessments without endorsing them. He is more definite in his conclusion: since conservatism triumphed with the election of his pal Ronald Reagan, Buckley has lost his competitive urge. The last lap of the 20th century may provide a new liberal challenger, but until then we are left with a small irony. Reagan, the former actor, entered the White House at about the same time that Buckley, the political activist, began changing into an entertainer -By R.Z. Sheppard

#### The Show-Off

MOON TIGER by Penelope Lively Grove; 208 pages; \$15.95

orget about Marguerite Higgins, Mary Welsh Hemingway or the shoulder-

padded heroines whom Rosalind Russell used to play in the movies. Those female legends of the '30s and '40s may have been superwomen, but consider the perfections of Claudia Hampton, war correspondent, popular historian, prized sexual partner to many men. (Claudia is also a terrible mother, but that seems to go with the territory.)

She is beautiful, of course, "People notice one's association with Claudia," observes one of her lovers, a multimillionaire entrepreneur. "Men are enviouswomen are impressed." Claudia is also formidable. Her only child Lisa cowers in the knowledge that she is too "pallid" to be a worthy offspring of this latter-day

Artemis. Lisa's husband is understandably terrified of his mother-in-law too. "Damp handshake, damp opinions, sighs Claudia with a snob's sere accuracy.

"At the very sight of me his vowels falter. The achievement of Penelope Lively in her seventh novel, the surprise winner of the prestigious Booker Prize in England for 1987, is that she manages to evoke considerable sympathy for a character who could easily be a pompous bore. Lively sees her whole: an innocent in a shriveling world, determined to live on a heroic scale and frustrated by family and friends who fail her as companion demigods.

The high point of Claudia's career is her time as a war correspondent covering the desert campaign against Rommel. She goes at her assignment with gusto, typing in the jeep, pausing to shake the sand out



Lively: launching a grand passion

of her typewriter. No wonder a weary colleague asks her to quit showing off. But soon she meets the love of her life, a tank commander named Tom Southern. The savvy reader of war fiction knows at once that earnest Tom will be dead within 50 pages, but Claudia is launched on a splendidly grand passion. And when finally the disastrous word comes from the front, she shows her saving grace: guts.

Claudia's great intellectual preoccupation-as well as the thesis of her historical volumes-is the random nature of history. Woe to the person who sees any order in the past; kaleidoscope is Claudia's favorite word. Effective enough at first. this aspect of Moon Tiger is overdrawn and finally tedious. A similar strain shows in what are by now familiar literary musings about the ancient stones and mysterious fossils around Lyme Regis. It is possible that Dorset should be cordoned off to novelists for a decade or so

In old age Claudia is at last defeated by cancer, but she has a good death: Gradually, the room is filled with light ... and she is filled with elation." That puts her ahead of the dying Goethe, who, in his last words, had to ask for more light. Up in heaven, one can be sure, Claudia

will use it against him.



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#### **Behavior**

#### The Dilemmas of Childlessness

Careers and indecision are leading many to bypass parenthood

Daise seem to be everywhere these days. Current movie far eo ffers Three Men and a Boby. Baby Boom and She's Hawing a Boby. Even television commercials are using giggling, gurgling newborns to shill for grownup products such as carpets, insurance and automobie tires. Yet despite the highly visible new crop of infants, not all Americans the control of the control o

sion early in life, often after perceiving their own mothers' lives as restrictive and unfulfilling. A disproportionate number are only children or firstborns who had to care for younger brothers and sisters.

Consider Susan Peters, 36, a Los Angeles TV producer who has been married for ten years. Half jokingly, she speculates that her decision not to have children stems from her childhood play with Barbie dolls. "Barbie had a house, a car and a boyfriend, period," she notes. Peters has not been swayed by close friends who



ment for a woman is having children." By and large, the baby busters are female college graduates of the late '60s and early '70s who questioned the moral imperative to reproduce and instead forged ahead in the male-dominated work force Many, of course, have had children, but in far fewer numbers than their mothers. In the 1950s, 9% of women of childbearing age had no children; now 25% of collegeeducated working women between 35 and 45 are childless. If their younger sisters. now between 25 and 35, also decide not to give birth, the childless rate is likely to remain unusually high. Moreover, the younger women's ambivalence is reinforced by economic realities. "In the 1950s a single breadwinner could support a family of five," says Public Opinion Expert Daniel Yankelovich. "Now it takes two breadwinners to support a family of four.

Those who choose not to have children tend to be well educated, live in urban areas, marry late and work outside the home; as a group, they are not actively religious. They fall into two categories: the deliberate types and the postponers. In general, the former make their decihave babies. "They spend the first three months staring at the baby. I won't give my life over to that. The Smurfs become your life." Feminist Gloria Steinem, 54, also made a deliberate choice. "I either gave birth to someone else," she explains, "or I gave birth to myself."

The postponers are those who refuse to make a decision, allowing relationships, professional commitments and finally nature to make the choice for them. Dr. Karen Rohde, 40, a suburban Chicago obstetrician, has some regrets about not having had kids, but is devoted to medicine and her second marriage, to a man with grown children. "Time got away from me," explains Rohde. "I never made a firm commitment to say no to having children. Now I've decided it is not going to happen. Whenever I see a particularly sweet-looking baby, I just think of what they're like when you take them home. Then I'm glad I'm not the one who has to lose sleep taking

Steinem believes women want men to share the burdens of parenting. "Women are on a baby strike. They have said, 'I'm not doing this myself.' "Certainly, many

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#### **Behavior**

men still want to have children; but most are content to leave child raising to their wives. Still, some men are opting for childlessness too. Ed McCrary, 41, a recovering alcoholic who works for a rehabenter in Charlotte, NC., and his wife, also a recovering alcoholic, have decided against having children because the "chances are too high" that the baby too would become an alcoholic.

The childless have found ways to satisfy their nurturing instincts. Jon Wilkman. 45, a Los Angeles filmmaker, advocates "uncle empowerment," which enables him to take his nephews to concerts and plays. Toni Moore, 47, a schoolteacher from Charlotte who has been married eight years and has chosen not to have children. helps pay tuition for her niece and nephew and takes them along on special vacations. New York City-based Joni Evans, 45, publisher of Random House trade books, openly mothers her authors and colleagues and feels no societal pressure to have children ("People ask, Are you a child person or not? You're not? O.K."). As for fears of growing old without children, Psychologist Goodchilds explains, "For many, not having children removes the concern of being a burden to your children in old age However, outright regret is not unusual. Despite three nephews, a golden retriever and a cat, Suzanne Childs, 45, a twice-divorced Los Angeles lawyer, says, "Knowing what I know now. I would have married someone different and had a child."

O ther women feel the same way. New York Psychologist Felice Gans regularly hears "anticipatory regret" from female patients in their early 30s. Says Gans: "They ask, 'Will I regret this? What is wrong with me that I didn't want a baby all along?" (She notes, however, that she also counsels many women who regret having had children.) Some discontented women blame feminism for encouraging their childless state. Feminist Author Betty Friedan. who relishes her role as the mother of two children, sharply disagrees. She insists that feminists are addressing the problems of working mothers. "Half of the women who are childless at 40 are not childless by real choice," says Friedan. "They have not had children because they are in male-structured jobs with no good day care available

A backlash of sorts against childlessness may have already begun: the birth rate among college-educated women 20 to 24 years old is beginning to climb. Nonetheless, the decision to have or not to have children is a profound one. Says Yankelovich: "Society is accepting childlessness. but some women question whether they have violated a biological law." Most childless adults who have deliberately made the choice enjoy their freedom with few misgivings. But some of those who find themselves sitting on the fence may have already made a decision they did not intend to make. -By Martha Smilgis



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#### **People**

Since his seminal novel The Catcher in the Rye appeared 37 years ago, reclusive Author J.D. Salinger, 69, has become increasingly insular, eluding interviewers and photographers. Last week, however, his hermitic privacy was cracked by a pair of intrepid photographers. They staked out Salinger's home turf, rural Cornish, N.H., and snapped some of the first pictures in many years of the fit-looking literary legend as he wheeled a grocery cart out of a supermarket. Salinger made no secret of his displeasure, chastising the lensmen as he headed for his Toyota pickup truck. While the pictures may please his fans, Salinger has long insisted on his right to the privacy in which he claims to work best. About inspiration, he once wrote, "A writer's feelings of anonymity-obscurity are the second most valuable property on loan to him."

When jazz's hottest keyboardists, Chick Corea, 46, and Herbie Hancock, 48, hit the downbeat in Seattle on June 1, it will be a treat for two groups: music fans and the homeless. One dollar of each ticket sale on the pair's 20-city U.S. tour will go to benefit the homeless.



Keymen: Hancock, top, and Corea

Promoters expect to contribute about \$150,000. That, says Hancock, whose flying fingers won a Grammy and an Oscar for 'Round Midnight last year. "ought to do some people some good." Corea, whose Spanish-



Long time no see: J.D. Salinger goes shopping in New Hampshire

him to both jazz and classical music buffs, is equally optimistic about the tour. Says he: "It just has a nice air and flow to it "Encore!

The pasta may be plentiful and the veal chops epic but such regulars as Michael Caine, Woody Allen and Gay Talese go to Elaine's, the legendary eatery on Manhattan's Upper East Side, for the conversation and atmosphere rather than the food. This week Owner Elaine Kaufman is throwing a bash for 750 or so of her closest friends to celebrate 25 years as a commanding hostess of the artistic In crowd. "I love the confusion and chaos," says the ample Elaine. Among her favorite memories are the evening that Marlon Brando dropped by for a quiet dinner and a party last fall for the film

inflected piano style endears | Moonstruck that attracted future Oscar Winners Cher, Olympia Dukakis and John Patrick Shanley. For her party, Elaine had Painter Joe Eula create a poster. No matter that celebration is misspelled. Says Elaine: "He's an artist, not a



Poster girl: Elaine and her party invitation

Many college students see their educations interrupted, but the record for a postponed degree may go to Frank P. Bourgin, 77. In 1942 his Ph.D. thesis was rejected by the University of Chicago political science department. But Chicago recently reversed its decision, and now plans to award Bourgin his doctorate this June-just 47 years late. The switch was made at the urging of scholars, including Historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr., who recently reviewed Bourgin's thesis and declared it a "strikingly original piece of work." The paper challenges the then popular idea that President Roosevelt's New Deal programs departed from the policies of the Founding Fathers-a challenge that has since become the accepted position. Bourgin, who worked in business before retirement. recalls, "I would meet a Ph.D. and think, 'That's what I should be.' " Chicago has promised the about-to-be doctor extra commencement tickets so that his wife, two children and four grandchildren can cheer him on.

Faith, it seems, knows no boundaries, and two prominent American churchmen last week carried their messages to Communist countries. During his first trip to the People's Republic of China, where there are some 7 million Christians, Evangelist Billy Graham avoided his usual large rallies, preaching instead at a few Protestant

churches. Chinese Pre-

mier Li Peng told Graham that their different philosophies would not be an 'obstacle to dialogue." Some 12,000 miles away in Cuba, where the Communist regime had once all but outlawed the church, John Cardinal O'Connor, the Roman Catholic Archbishon of New York, became the highest Catholic prelate to visit the country since Fidel Castro took over 29 years ago. O'Connor celebrated Mass in Havana's cathedral and chatted with el Presidente at his palace. The Cardinal appeared to have succeeded in his mission to speed up the church's improving

relations with the Cuban government. Castro told O'Connor he would allow more Catholic nuns to come to Cuba and announced he would soon release several hundred political prisoners. In return he asked the Cardinal for his help in relaxing the 27-year-old U.S. trade embargo against Cuba. Said O'Connor: "We are prepared to do anything we can, in honor and integrity, to advance that objective."

The canvas may look monumental to gallery-goers, but for Artist James Rosenquist, 54, who once supported himself as a billboard painter, his latest work is only a tad too big. Through the Eve of the Needle and into the Anvil. which went on display at the Leo Castelli Gallery in Manhattan's SoHo district last week, mea-

sures 46 ft. by 17 ft. The work plumbs American styles with familiar Rosenquist totems, including enormous high heels, a huge passionflower and a giant three-dimensional head of a



The big picture: Rosenquist at work on Through the Eve of the Needle and into the Anvil

"I like to make history." Hus-

sein had just kicked up quite

a bit of it. Last week he be-

came the first African winner

of the venerable Boston Mara-

thon. Hussein, who won last

year's New York race, set an-

other mark in Boston: the nar-

pin. "I hope that there is mystery in it and that it seeps out slowly," observes Rosenquist. Although F-111, a 1965 roomsize work, sold at auction for \$1.9 million, Rosenquist thinks this one may be too big to fetch that much. He'd be happy, he says, with a mere million.

Michael Jackson, 29, may be one of the world's best-known entertainers, but offstage he remains an enigma. That condition was supposed to be dispelled by the reclusive superstar's new autobiography. But Moonwalk (Doubleday: \$15.95), published last week with a brief forward by Editor Jacqueline Onassis, is only a small step for Michael. He does, however, deny rumors of heavy facial make-overs: only two nose jobs and a cleft surgically added to his chin, he says. Jackson discusses his "first love," Tatum O'Neal, and says he was "romantically serious" with Brooke Shields. But, he writes, "I'm one of the lone liest people in the world." Perhaps. Always the entertainer. though, Jackson makes a classy public gesture: Moonwalk is dedicated to Fred Astaire.

flag of his native Kenya, Runner Ibrahim Hussein, 29, panted. Belavneh Densimo, who just the day before Hussein's feat set a new world marathon mark of 2:06:50.

In several of her roles on the screen. Jessica Lange, 39, has endured some odd relationships. She played the ape's reluctant main squeeze in King Kong, and in Tootsie her best woman friend turned out to be her boyfriend. In Everybody's All-American, set for December release, Lange gets to stand by her he-man. As 1955 College Homecoming Queen Babs Rogers, she marries Campus Football Star Gavin Grey. played by Dennis Quaid. 31 (Innerspace, The Big Easy). But the glory fades, and the film follows the couple's misadventures over the next

25 years. Says Lange: "These two stayed together for better and for worse." The actress herself was divorced after a twelve-year marriage, later had a daughter with Dancer Mikhail Baryshnikov, and cur-

Sitting pretty: Lange as campus queen in Everybody's All-American

rowest victory margin. With a time of 2:08:43, the Kenyan was a mere one second ahead of his friendly rival, Tanzania's Juma Ikangaa, Now Hus-Exhausted and draped in a sein will train his sights on this summer's Seoul Olympics There he will face Ethiopia's rently lives with Actor-Playwright Sam Shepard and their two children. Quaid got so far into his jarring role that he broke a collarbone during one of the football sequences. By J.D. Reed. Reported by David E. Thigpen/New

#### Essay

Lance Morrow

#### A Holocaust of Words

he library in Leningrad burned for a night and a day. By the time the fire was out at the National Academy of Sciences, 400,000 books had been incinerated. An additional 3.6 million had been damaged by water. In the weeks since the fire, workmen have been shoveling blackened remains of books into trash bins and hanging the sodden survivors on lines to dry in front of enormous electric fans

The mind cracks a little in contemplating a holocaust of words. No one died in the fire. And yet whenever books burn, one is haunted by a sense of mourning. For books are not inanimate objects, not really, and the death of books, especially by fire, especially in such numbers, has the power of a kind of tragedy. Books are life-forms, children of the mind. Words (in the beginning was the Word) have about them

some of the mystery of creation

Russians have always loved their books profoundly. Literature has sometimes sustained the Russians when almost everything else was gone. During the siege of Leningrad, the city's population, frozen and starving down to the verge of cannibalism, drew strength by listening to a team of poets as they read on the radio from the works of Pushkin and other writers. "Never before nor ever in the future," said a survivor, "will people listen to poetry as did Leningrad in that winter-hungry, swollen and hardly living." Today Russians will fill a stadium to hear a poetry reading.

There is of course some irony in the Russian passion for books. Knowing the power of written words. Russian authority has for centuries accorded books the brutal compliment of

suppression. It has slain books by other means than fire Book publishing first flourished in Russia under Catherine the Great, and yet it was she who used local police, corrupt and ignorant, to enforce the country's first censorship regulations, Czar Nicholas I conducted a sort of terrorism against certain books and writers. He functioned as personal censor for Pushkin and banished Dostoyevsky to Siberia. Revolution only encouraged the Russian candle-snuffers. Lenin said, "Ideas are much more fatal things than guns," a founder's nihil obstat that culminated in the years of poet destruction (Osin Mandelstam, Marina Tsvetaeva) and book murder under Stalin

For generations of Russians, books have been surrounded by exaltation and tragedy. In a prison camp in the Gulag during the 1960s, the poet and essayist Andrei Sinyavsky hid hand-copied pages of the Book of Revelations in the calf of his boot. He wrote, "What is the most precious, the most exciting smell waiting for you in the house when you return to it after half a dozen years or so? The smell of roses, you think? No, mouldering books.

Vladimir Nabokov carried his love of Russian into exile: "Beyond the seas where I have lost a sceptre./ I hear the neighing of my dappled nouns,/ Soft participles coming down the steps./ Treading on leaves, trailing their rustling gowns

Americans don't take books that seriously anymore. Perhaps Russians don't either: their popular culture has begun to succumb to television. In America one rarely encounters the mystical book worship. Everything in the West today seems infinitely replicable, by computer, microfilm, somehow, so that if a book chances to burn up, there must be thousands more where that came from. If anything, there seem to be entirely too many words and numbers in circulation, too many sinister records of everything crammed into the microchips of FBI, IRS, police departments. Too many books altogether, perhaps. The glut of books subverts a reverence for them. Bookstore tables groan under the piles of remaindered volumes. In the U.S. more than 50,000 new titles are published every year. Forests cry out in despair that they are being scythed so that the works of Jackie Collins might live.

MCMI XXXVIII

It was the Dominican zealot Girolamo Savonarola who presided over the Bonfire of the Vanities during Carnival in Florence in 1497. Thousands of the Florentine children who were Savonarola's followers went through the city collecting what they deemed to be lewd books, as well as pictures, lutes, playing cards, mirrors and other vanities, and piled them in the great Piazza della Signoria of Florence. The pyramid of offending objects rose 60 feet high. and went up in flames. One year later Savonarola had a political quarrel with Pope Alexander VI. was excommunicated, tried and hanged. His body was burned at the stake. Savonarola

went up in smoke The Leningrad library fire was a natural disaster Deliberate book burning seems not only

criminal but evil. Why? Is it worse to destroy a book by burning it than to throw it into the trash compactor? Or to shred it? Not in effect. But somehow the irrevocable reduction of words to smoke and, poof!, into nonentity haunts the imagination. In Hitler's bonfires in 1933, the works of Kafka, Freud, Einstein, Zola and Proust were incinerated—their smoke a prefigurement of the terrible clouds that came from the Nazi chimneys later.

Anyone who loves books knows how hard it is to throw even one of them away, even one that is silly or stupid or vicious and full of lies. How much more criminal, how much more a sin against consciousness, to burn a book. A question then: What if one were to gather from the corners of the earth all the existing copies of Mein Kampf and make a bonfire of them? Would that be an act of virtue? Or of evil?

Sometimes it seems that the right books never get burnt. But the world has its quota of idiotic and vicious people just as it has its supplies of books that are vicious, trashy and witless. Books can eventually be as mortal as people-the acids in the paper eat them, the bindings decay and at last they crumble in one's hands. But their ambition anyway is to outlast the flesh. Books have a kind of enshrining counterlife. One can live with the thought of one's own death. It is the thought of the death of words and books that is terrifying. For that is the deeper extinction.

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